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FBIS-EEU-89-040 CONTENTS *2 March 1989*

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Pact Disarmament Commission Meets in Bucharest *[ADN]* 1
    Oancea Represents Romania *[AGERPRES]* 1
Opole 13th Tank Regiment To Be Disbanded *[Warsaw TV]* 1
GDR's Gen Streletz on Reduced Pact Exercises *[ADN]* 1

BULGARIA

Leaders Attend Reception at Soviet Embassy *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Balev Chairs Meeting on Vienna CSCE Results *[BTA]* 2
Dyulgerov Meets Yugoslav Trade Union Delegation *[BTA]* 2
Bundzhulov, Stanishev Meet Cambodian Delegation *[BTA]* 2
Greek Foreign Minister To Visit 3-4 March *[BTA]* 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jakes on Foreign Policy, Trade, Eureka Program *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Feb]* 3
Adamec Interviewed While in Soviet Union *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Feb]* 6
Adamec, Janak Hold Talks in Bratislava *[Bratislava PRAVDA 23 Feb]* 7
Foreign Minister Johanes Receives NAA Delegation *[Bratislava PRAVDA 23 Feb]* 7
Commmentary Assesses James Baker European Tour *[Porybny in RUDE PRAVO 22 Feb]* 7
Vaclav Havel Speech at Trial Published *[Oslo AFTENPOSTEN 27 Feb]* 8
Oppositionist Navratil Released From Clinic *[Vatican International]* 9
Proceedings at Government Session Detailed *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb]* 9
    U.S., Foreign Ties Examined *[CTK]* 10
Presidium Meets on Central Body Personnel Cuts *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Feb]* 11
Church Affairs Secretary Criticizes Tomasek *[Vienna VOLKSSTIMME 16 Feb]* 12
Official Views Problems in Investment Policy *[MLADA FRONTA 23 Feb]* 12
Joint Trade Protocol Signed With Cuba *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Feb]* 13

HUNGARY

Grosz Interviewed on Reform, Multiparty System *[TANJUG]* 14
Karoly Grosz Interviewed on Baranya Visit *[Budapest Radio]* 14
Nemeth Addresses Agriculture Conference *[MTI]* 15
    Policy Statement Adopted *[MTI]* 16
Nemeth Discusses Law Banning Demonstrations *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Nemeth on New Procedure for Nominating Speaker *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Nyers Interviewed on Changes in Political System *[MTI]* 17
Nyers Discusses Strike Law, Labor Code *[MTI]* 17
Fejti Speech Closes Central Committee Session *[NEPSZABADSAG 21 Feb]* 18
'Harsh' Romanian Response to Rights Charges *[Budapest Radio]* 19
Mass Rally To Replace May Day Demonstration *[MTI]* 19
    Rezso Nyers To Address Crowd *[MTI]* 19
    Debrecen MDF To Celebrate 15 Mar *[Budapest Radio]* 19
Groups Plan Symbolic Occupation of TV Station *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Government's CEMA, Warsaw Pact Roles Viewed *[Budapest TV]* 20
Democratic Forum Urges Pact Democratization *[MTI]* 21
Ferenc Munnich Society's Secretary Interviewed *[MTI]* 21
FIDESZ Spokesman on Workers' Representation *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Four Members Expelled From Smallholders Party *[Budapest Radio]* 22
New Workers Interest Organization Created *[Budapest Radio]* 22
People's Party Official Holds News Conference *[MTI]* 23

- Oppositionist Vasarhelyi on MSZMP Line *[Milan L'UNITA 15 Feb]* 23
- Historical Study Again on Sale at Newsstands *[Budapest Radio]* 24
- Inquiry Into Polish Traders Incident Concludes *[MTI]* 24

POLAND

- Roundtable Team for Political Reforms Meets 25
  - Management of Press Discussed *[Warsaw Radio]* 25
  - Government Side Views Debates *[PAP]* 25
  - Solidarity on Team, Debates *[PAP]* 25
- Science, Education Subteam Holds Second Meeting *[PAP]* 26
- Walesa, Kiszczak Meet To Discuss Roundtable *[AFP]* 26
- Spanish Daily Queries Adam Michnik on Roundtable *[Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA 9 Feb]* 27
- Walesa Appeals to Warsaw University Students *[Warsaw Radio]* 29
  - Further on Walesa Meeting *[PAP]* 29
- Walesa Fields Journalists' Questions in Gdansk *[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Feb]* 29
- Demonstration Follows Walesa Visit to Szczecin *[PAP]* 30
- Activists Stage Brief Demonstration in Katowice *[Warsaw TV]* 30
- Democratic Party Concerned About Student Riots *[PAP]* 30
- Internal Affairs Statement on Demonstrations *[Szczecin Radio]* 30
- Spokesman Rebuts Allegations of Militia Brutality *[Warsaw TV]* 31
- Katyn Massacre Incident Receives More Publicity 31
  - War Veteran Recalls Experience *[PAP]* 31
  - Daily Comments on Katyn Documents *[Tybura in ZYCIE WARSZAWY 24 Feb]* 32
  - Massacre Evidence Viewed *[Slaski in SLOWO POWSZECHNE 24-26 Feb]* 32
- Rakowski Opens Voivods Conference 1 March *[PAP]* 33
- CSSR's Lenart Arrives on Official Working Visit 35
  - Received by Jaruzelski *[CTK]* 35
  - Leaders Discuss Cooperation *[PAP]* 35
- Commentary Views CEMA, Economic Integration *[Gadomski in KULTURA 8 Feb]* 35

ROMANIA

- Ceausescu, Dascalescu Receive Castro Message *[SCINTEIA 26 Feb]* 37
- Constantin Meets Socialist Leader in Nicosia *[AGERPRES]* 37
- Milea Sends Message to USSR on Army-Navy Day *[SCINTEIA 23 Feb]* 37
- Danish Food Reportedly Sold to DPRK for Currency *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 27 Feb]* 37
- Agricultural Growth, Modernization Reviewed *[AGERPRES]* 38
- Price Stability, Pay Increase Reported *[AGERPRES]* 38
- Third Stage of Pay, Pension Raise Noted *[AGERPRES]* 39
- Economic, Industrial Growth in Brasov County *[AGERPRES]* 39
- Unconventional Energy Potential Discussed *[AGERPRES]* 40

YUGOSLAVIA

- Emergency Session of SFRY Joint Assembly Held 41
  - Zemljaric Addresses Assemly *[TANJUG]* 41
  - Mojsov Report to Assembly *[TANJUG]* 42
  - Conclusions Adopted *[TANJUG]* 45
- SAWPY Federal Conference Session Reported *[TANJUG]* 46
- Crowd Gathers Outside SFRY Assembly Building 49
  - 15,000 Estimated *[TANJUG]* 49
  - 'Peaceful' Atmosphere *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
  - 8,000 Remain Outside Assembly *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
  - Protesters Disperse *[Belgrade Radio]* 50
  - 'Last Group' of Protesters Leaves *[TANJUG]* 50
- Belgrade Conference Appeals for No Gatherings *[TANJUG]* 50
- Belgrade Youth Group Issues Statement on Kosovo *[Belgrade Radio]* 50
- Kosovo Presidency Order Restricts Movement *[TANJUG]* 50
- Kosovo Situation 'Calming Down' After Measures *[Belgrade Radio]* 51
- Kosovo LC Presidium Session Issues Communique *[TANJUG]* 51

Hasani Denies Capitulation to Nationalists *[TANJUG]* 53
Kosovo Writers Protest 'Anti-Albanian Hysteria' *[TANJUG]* 53
Director Says Trepca Miners Resume Production *[TANJUG]* 53
Serbian Defense Commission Meets on Situation *[TANJUG]* 53
Serbian SAWP Criticizes Suvar Candidacy *[TANJUG]* 54
Andjelkovic Calls Kosovo Events 'High Treason' *[TANJUG]* 54
Serbian, Slovene Writers Break Off Ties *[TANJUG]* 55
Stanovnik Addresses Slovenes on Ljubljana Radio *[TANJUG]* 55
Smole Addresses 27 Feb Slovene SAWP Session *[TANJUG]* 56
    BORBA on Smole Address *[28 Feb]* 57
Slovene Assembly Appeals for Strike Resolution *[TANJUG]* 58
Slovenes Protest Kosovo State of Emergency *[DELO 27 Feb]* 58
BORBA Reports Slovene Protest Statement *[28 Feb]* 59
Ljubljana Corps Command on Jansa Remarks *[TANJUG]* 60

Pact Disarmament Commission Meets in Bucharest

LD0103170789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—The fifth session of the special commission of the Warsaw Pact member states on disarmament questions at the deputy foreign ministerial level took place in Bucharest on Tuesday and Wednesday. The delegations included responsible representatives of the allied states' foreign ministries and defense ministries.

At the meeting, questions concerning the preparation of the negotiations starting in Vienna on reducing conventional armed forces and on confidence- and security-building measures were discussed. The problem of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe was also discussed.

The meeting proceeded in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere, in a spirit of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation.

The delegation leaders were received by Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu.

Oancea Represents Romania

AU0103191189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 1 Mar 89

["Proceedings of Special Commission on Disarmament Issues of the Warsaw Treaty Participant States"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/03/1989—On 28 February-1 March, 1989, Bucharest was the venue of the proceedings of the Special Commission on Disarmament Issues of the Warsaw Treaty Participant States, at the level of deputy foreign ministers. The delegations included senior staff of the ministries of foreign affairs and the ministries of defence of the participant countries.

Analysis was made of the questions related to the preparation of the negotiations due to start in Vienna on the armed forces and conventional armaments and on the adoption of new measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe. The question of tactical nuclear means in Europe was also approached.

On Romania's behalf, the proceedings of the session were attended by Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Opole 13th Tank Regiment To Be Disbanded

LD0203080289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw Pact countries are reducing the troop strength of their armies and a number of weapons. The so-called disbandment also concerns the 10th Sudety Armored Division in Opole. The 13th tank regiment of the division is to be disbanded. In this connection, a solemn assembly will be held on Saturday that will be attended by 14 military attaches from various countries, including the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and Korea [not further specified].

GDR's Gen Streletz on Reduced Pact Exercises

LD0103093589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0359 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—In 1956 an army was formed with the founding of the National People's Army [NVA]. This was the first time in the history of the German people that their army embodied their progressive military traditions, the revolutionary working class, and their internationalist fight against imperialism and fascism and for democracy and socialism in particular. Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy defense minister and chief of the NVA Main Staff, stated this in an interview with the paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on the 33d anniversary of the GDR Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

Col Gen Streletz went on to explain to what extent the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the CSSR, and Poland are reducing their forces. He also assessed the initiatives of the socialist countries as a significant contribution to the disarmament process. "We hope that they will give other European states a stimulus worthy of consideration for their own steps toward reducing their military potentials," he said.

"Thus, as a whole, the strength and structure of our forces will change step by step in such a way that they will suffice for defensive operations but will not be suitable for far-reaching offensive operations. With this aim we have begun to reduce the number and scale of our troop exercises. In all these measures we take into account the fact that NATO continues to cling to its aggressive concepts by constantly maintaining a high degree of defensive readiness." [passage omitted]

Leaders Attend Reception at Soviet Embassy

AU2302205089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] On 23 February Major General Givi Ordzhonikidze, USSR military attache in Bulgaria, gave a reception at the USSR Embassy on the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The following comrades attended the reception: Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petko Danchev, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov; leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations; and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

The reception took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Balev Chairs Meeting on Vienna CSCE Results

AU2402195489 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—The results of the Vienna follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which ended on January 19, and the respective commitments assumed by Bulgaria were discussed at a conference held here today.

The conference was opened and chaired by Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP. It was attended by representatives of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, government ministries and departments, the BCP regional and municipal committees, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the cultural unions and the mass media.

Mr Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, Mr Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, the chief Bulgarian delegate to the Vienna meeting, delivered reports at the conference.

Dyulgerov Meets Yugoslav Trade Union Delegation

AU2402195889 Sofia BTA in English 1648 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—Questions of bilateral cooperation were discussed at today's meeting of Mr Petur Dyulgerov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, with Mr Zvonimir Hrabar, member of the Presidency of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Satisfaction was expressed with the upgrade development of trade union contacts and it was pointed out that there are possibilities for their extension on all levels.

The two sides exchanged information about the work of the trade unions in the two countries at the present stage and about their increased responsibility and activity in the conditions of comprehensive changes in social life. New forms of cooperation which are now possible thanks to the company-based organization of the production in Bulgaria were also discussed.

Bundzhulov, Stanishev Meet Cambodian Delegation

AU2402110189 Sofia BTA in English 0927 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—The relations between the youth organizations of Bulgaria and Kampuchea are undergoing positive development. Noting this fact Mr Andrey Bundzhulov, secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DKMS), and Mr Sam Sundoeun, first secretary of the CC of the Union of People's Revolutionary Youth of Kampuchea, agreed that a lot of good opportunities are existing for enhancement of the contacts.

The guest and the members of the delegation led by him were acquainted yesterday with the basic moments in the work of the DKMS for restructuring of the socialist society. It was stressed that the realities of our times require new approaches and forms in the resolution of the problems of the young people.

The DKMS supports the struggle of the Kampuchean people, said Mr Bundzhulov. It supports the initiatives of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea for peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

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Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, received yesterday the delegation of the Union of the People's Revolutionary Youth of Kampuchea headed by its first secretary.

The importance of the consolidation of the new political thinking for the preservation of peace, for strengthening of trust, understanding and cooperation between the peoples, was stressed.

Greek Foreign Minister To Visit 3-4 March

AU2702150789 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, 27 February (BTA)—Mr Karolos Papoulias will pay a working friendly visit to Bulgaria on March 3 and 4 at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart Mr Petur Mladenov.

Jakes on Foreign Policy, Trade, Eureka Program

AU2802110389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
25 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

["Comrade Milos Jakes Answers RUDE PRAVO's Questions; Our Initiative Provides New Stimuli"]

[Text] On Friday [24 February] Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, answered questions posed by RUDE PRAVO chief editor Zdenek Horeni, in connection with the 1st anniversary of the proclamation of the well-known Czechoslovak foreign policy initiative pertaining to the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The following is the text of the questions and answers:

[Horeni] Comrade General Secretary, a year ago, in February 1988, you proclaimed a very important Czechoslovak initiative concerning the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. Czechoslovakia and our allies have recently undertaken a number of concrete steps in the military sphere. How, in this connection, do you assess the still unexpressed attitude of the other side, of NATO?

[Jakes] Regarding the military aspects of the aforementioned initiative, they pertain to two ranges of issues: Measures aimed at further strengthening trust beyond the framework of the stipulations of the 1986 Stockholm document (the final document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe—editorial note) and the "dilution" of the contingents of the troops stationed in the proposed zone. Concretely this means that we are willing to come to an agreement with the states along the line of contact, for example, on giving each other notice of military exercises involving a smaller number of participants than the document of the Stockholm conference dictates, on inviting observers even to those exercises, on expanding the right to carry out inspections of military activities in the proposed zone, on expanding the duty to announce call-ups of reservists to military exercises, and on reducing military exercises in general.

We are also in favor of increasing the exchange of information, including data, on armed forces in the zone of trust. Our opinion is that also the establishment of contacts among military representatives of various levels and the creation of opportunities to get to know one another better would contribute to more trust and the elimination of the "enemy image." Here, too, personal contacts can play a positive role.

We propose "diluting" the contingents of troops in the zone as a part of solutions which we will—in accordance with the Warsaw Pact's defense military doctrine—strive for also at the upcoming Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. We favor that in the zone along the line of the two groupings' contacts there remain military means sufficient for defense only, which would make an unexpected attack and waging offensive operations impossible.

While in the past the West used to almost automatically depict our initiatives as "propaganda," nowadays—in view of the facts—the situation has changed somewhat, even though we still continue to witness attempts to belittle these measures and give limited publicity to their content and importance. This, obviously, arises from the concern of some Western political circles that the public opinion in their countries could exert political pressure on governments and demand that they follow the Warsaw Pact's example.

At the same time, however, a number of politicians and experts in the NATO states have expressed their appreciation of the aforementioned measures, saying that they are not only of military, but also of political significance, and therefore deserve NATO's appropriate reply. We know that in Western Europe discussions and polemics are being conducted and also an approach is being sought to resolving the unpostponable disarmament problem. This is attested to by the fact that NATO still does not have a joint reply ready. We are waiting for it, and I can say that we are waiting impatiently . As has been recently reported, at the upcoming talks with the Warsaw Pact NATO wants to offer to reduce its conventional forces to a certain extent. We hope that the reply of our partners in the disarmament talks will be constructive and facilitate, in accordance with the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting, initiating the so much awaited and desirable disarmament process in Europe.

[Horeni] To what extent do our recent military measures, and also the measures announced by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev from the UN rostrum, correspond with the intentions which our initiative pursues?

[Jakes] The unilateral measures adopted by the USSR, the GDR, and the CSSR are in harmony with the objectives of the military aspect of the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, security, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

For example, by 1991 the Soviet Union will withdraw from the CSSR, the GDR, and the Hungarian People's Republic six tank divisions and disband them. Czechoslovakia will reduce the number of tanks by 850, the GDR by 600, and the other socialist states will undertake similar steps. The reason I mention this is that this is the type of weapon which caused the greatest complications during disarmament negotiations.

Thus, the Warsaw Pact states have already begun "diluting" their troops' contingents in the zone mentioned in our initiative. And here I would like to stress once again that the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) is equipped neither with chemical nor nuclear weapons.

[Horeni] RUDE PRAVO readers asked us more than once why our country's defense expenditure is surrounded by such great secrecy. And now, all of a sudden, we have published so many figures about our Army that, as the saying goes, they make people dizzy. Does it mean that the flow of information to the public has also penetrated this sphere, and that our citizens will be able to find out publicly and from Czechoslovak sources not only about the numerical strength of our troops, but also about the defense expenditure?

[Jakes] The CSLA's numerical strength and the state of its equipment were published in the Warsaw Pact's joint communique at the end of last January. Regarding defense expenditure, thus far there exist differing approaches toward compiling data connected with it not only in the individual socialist states, but in the capitalist states as well. From this also arise understandable difficulties when comparing their extent. The differences in opinions about what should be included in the defense expenditure had led to the fact that these data were not published in great detail either in our or in the other socialist countries. However, for example, Federal Assembly deputies and committees, which urgently need those data for their work, were acquainted with them. Here I would like to add that we have reassessed data which must remain secret. This is connected with the positive changes in international relations, with the new political thinking practiced in the Soviet Union, which we, in Czechoslovakia, also fully support. This also is an expression of our endeavor to contribute to replacing the policy of confrontation in relations among states which have different social systems by mutual trust and constructive cooperation.

We regard it correct that our citizens should be better informed about military issues in the future. Therefore, we will publish data also from this sphere. At the same time, this is one of the ways which create prerequisites for the success of disarmament negotiations.

[Horeni] Information about the preparations of the Central Group of Soviet Forces to withdraw from the CSSR territory those units referred to in Mikhail Gorbachev's declaration in the United Nations have already been published. Will our citizens be informed about the course of their withdrawal?

[Jakes] As is known, at a press conference held at the beginning of February Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, chief of the CSLA General Staff, announced the timetable for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, which this decision concerns. In the course of the next 2 years, not only one tank division will be withdrawn from the CSSR, but also other formations and warplanes. A total of 5,300 men, 708 tanks, and 20 warplanes are involved. Not only the Czechoslovak, but also the world public will have the opportunity to follow the withdrawal of the Soviet units from reports by our and foreign journalists.

[Horeni] What would you tell to those fellow citizens of ours who are expressing concern that the unilateral measures undertaken by the Warsaw Pact countries will weaken our defense capability?

[Jakes] In essence, the adopted unilateral measures of the Warsaw Pact countries are the reduction of the combat potential of its individual member countries as well as of the Warsaw Pact as a whole. However, they are, at the same time, a practical expression of their endeavor to arrive at a reasonable defensive sufficiency. But I must stress once more that disarmament cannot be accomplished by unilateral steps. There is a limit which cannot be exceeded without detriment to one's security. The principle of mutuality must apply here.

I wish to assure all citizens that all adopted measures were carefully weighed in order to continue ensuring the country's reliable defense and fulfilling the commitments arising from the CSSR's membership in the Warsaw Pact and its defensive doctrine. The highest political and state leadership is fully aware of this responsibility. Members of the CSLA, whose selfless work, patriotic and international approach toward the implementation of entrusted tasks we highly value, are aware of this responsibility, too.

[Horeni] A year ago you stressed that the idea of the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations not only has a military, but also a political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian aspect. With what means can this idea be developed in those spheres? Do we have such projects?

[Jakes] Our ideas are fairly broad and we also have concrete projects. As early as in the first stage of the dialogue with our partners we proposed several dozen principles and themes, the realization of which could contribute to the gradual creation of the zone of trust.

In the political sphere this would be, for example, a regular dialogue between parliaments and governments, and in the sphere of the individual ministries' activity this would be the intensification of contacts among political parties, social organizations, nongovernmental and other institutions. Within the framework of this dialogue we want to stress what unites us. In our relations there are issues, the solution of which is undoubtedly in common interest.

In the economic sphere we strive for an extensive and mutually advantageous cooperation. We consider it useful to agree on steps which would unshackle and develop trade, expand the traditional spheres of industrial cooperation by new branches, intensify cooperation on third markets, and help to establish joint ventures. We regard cooperation in the protection of the environment as being very important—as attested to by the proposals submitted by our federal premier, Comrade Ladislav Adamec.

We have also worked out in detail projects for the humanitarian, cultural, scientific, educational spheres, and for the sphere of health care. As the foundation here we consider not only the exchange of findings and values, but—in particular—more extensive contacts among people, the establishment of friendship contacts, the development of tourism, and such like.

We continue updating and enriching our proposals. Currently, the content of our initiative is being complemented in accordance with the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. Here we proceed from the conviction that the trust among states and their populations will strengthen not only on the basis of one-time actions by governments but, above all, as the consequence of the influence of thousands of indications of good-neighborly, interhuman relations. And for this we want to co-create the most favorable conditions. To express this concretely: Evidence of our determination, for example, are the recent changes in respect of issuing visas, which make the visits by many citizens of the Western countries to our country much easier. These are measures that are not being reciprocated by the other side.

On the whole I want to stress that we do not consider our initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations closed. It is open—also to initiatives and suggestions of other states.

[Horeni] You have just said that we regard cooperation in the protection of the environment as especially important. Last year Comrade Ladislav Adamec invited the premiers of the countries neighboring Czechoslovakia for a meeting and talks precisely on this issue. What standpoints does Czechoslovakia intend to present?

[Jakes] We proceed from the assumption that the problems connected with the environment in central Europe and throughout the world cannot be resolved by isolated actions by individual countries, but that this requires a united effort on an international scale. The proposal to hold a meeting of the premiers of governments of countries neighboring the CSSR links onto all appeals adopted in the United Nations, by CEMA, and the European Economic Commission, and focuses on a precisely defined area and thus also on a specific problem. The jointly adopted steps should correspond to this by their extent and depth.

The intention of the Czechoslovak side is to mutually assess what can be really done to solve problems, especially regarding the purity of the atmosphere and the protection of waters, which are causing concern to all of us. In this respect, the CSSR is preparing a package of proposals and measures. At the same time, our opinion is that all countries should be informed about the state of the environment, and that this would contribute to a better mutual assessment of the situation and adoption of the necessary measures. Therefore, in this connection we are weighing the possibility to recommend the establishment of a unified system to follow the development of the ecological situation and of a databank.

Improving the environment in central Europe will require demanding technical solutions, and organizational and legislative measures. As I have already said, these tasks exceed the possibility of a single state. For this reason we also consider it expedient to set up a joint consultative body which would unite technical policy and, possibly, help to establish joint scientific-production enterprises and associations. Its activity should help to eliminate administrative obstacles, improve the flow of information, and accelerate joint actions. We would welcome Prague becoming the seat of this body.

[Horeni] During his visit to the CSSR, French President Francois Mitterrand mentioned, among other things, the possibility of the central and Eastern European countries participating in the West European technological and audiovisual program Eureka. Do we have in our country an idea of how to join some of the Eureka programs? Have we taken any steps already?

[Jakes] We have been interested in the Eureka technological program for some years now. Eureka is an important instrument of West European integration, the objective of which is to enhance the technical and technological standards of the participating countries—today it already includes 18 West European states. In harmony with the main directions of scientific-technical development, our scientific-research institutes have selected some advanced civilian projects of the Eureka program. We are interested, for example, in taking part in the Eurotrac project (tracing the pollution of the atmosphere), the Eurobot (the development, production, and use of industrial robots), the Euromat (new materials), the Eurotrans (transportation), the Eurolas (the development, production, and use of industrial and medical lasers), and the Eurocom (communications) projects.

It is clear, however, that the involvement of the socialist states, including Czechoslovakia, requires the elimination of some obstacles. They concern the contractual-legal and financial nature of cooperation on the level of enterprises, because individual projects are being realized on the basis of contracts between individual companies. Here also are in effect the continuing restrictions of NATO's coordination committee for the control of exports of advanced technology to the socialist countries (Cocom). This is literally an anachronism in our times and a great hindrance to mutually advantageous trade.

We have already taken certain steps to assess the possibility of Czechoslovak participation in the projects of the Eureka program. For example, during talks with Mr Mitterrand and other French representatives we arrived at the identical view that the Eureka program should be open to all European states that want to take part in this top-of-the-line technical program and have the prerequisites. France, the FRG, but also other Western partners realize the fact that there exist technologies in which Czechoslovakia is really advanced and that it thus could make an active contribution to that program.

We also discussed the possibility of our participation in a new project—in the audiovisual Eureka. What is involved is the exchange of audiovisual productions and the effective utilization of telecommunication systems; the solution of issues in the entire sphere of culture including such as how to counter the danger of the Americanization of European culture; information; teaching of languages; and such like. It is obvious that the participation of the socialist states, including Czechoslovakia, in this future-oriented project would provide new dimensions to the European countries' scientific-technical and cultural cooperation.

[Horeni] Both, our initiative of February 1988, and the recent reduction of the numerical strength and armament of our Armed Forces, are certainly a good contribution to the new type of disarmament talks, that is, to the talks on conventional weapons, which start in Vienna at the beginning of March. How do you assess the importance of that event? What instructions will be given the delegation which we will send to those talks?

[Jakes] The deliberations of the 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as the deliberations of the 35 participating states on confidence-building measures and security, will be held in a more favorable international situation than previous similar forums. Thus, they have objectively better prerequisites for achieving military relaxation, for improving international relations and the general atmosphere in Europe. We attach great importance to them, they will be some of the most important international deliberations in which we are taking part. This also is given by Czechoslovakia's geographical position as a country in the very center of a continent overstocked with the greatest military potential in history.

The Czechoslovak delegation will go to Vienna with the task of doing all that is within our possibilities for the talks to achieve positive results, the outcome of which would be strengthened stability and security in Europe. We will strive for an agreement on a fundamental reduction of the Armed Forces and conventional armament of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact states in line with the principle of reasonable sufficiency. At the talks of all 35 states we will actively contribute to the broadening and deepening of the results achieved at the Stockholm conference in 1986.

In the talks our delegation will proceed from the concepts which we have jointly adopted with our Warsaw Pact allies. In harmony with that in Vienna it will be implementing our standpoints arising from Czechoslovakia's geographical position as a country located immediately on the line of contact between the two strongest military-political groupings. What I have in mind is our initiative of February 1988, which contains the sum of views and approaches which we, in Czechoslovakia, regard as being of paramount importance from the viewpoint of our national and state interests.

Adamec Interviewed While in Soviet Union

AU2202131589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Feb 89 pp 1, 6

[Report by CTK and RUDE PRAVO correspondents in Moscow: "Interview With L. Adamec"]

[Excerpts] At the end of his official friendly visit to the Soviet Union, CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists accredited to Moscow. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the process of democratization in Czechoslovak society, the federal premier stressed that the path on which we have embarked is the right one. Some problems that we were not familiar with before have also surfaced. We are learning as we go along, and there is no reason for us to back away. We must grow accustomed to new approaches. We sincerely wish to hold a dialogue with all those who want to help socialism in a creative way.

L. Adamec noted that he recently received letters from groups of cultural and scientific workers that refer back to the events in Wenceslas Square. I regret that such letters have cropped up, he said in this connection. It would be more suitable to conduct a dialogue at a different level than by means of resolutions. Personally, I am in favor of entirely specific, businesslike, and frank talks. We could have met with the writers of these letters to discuss individual issues. On some issues we can agree, and on some not. However, this matter must not be dramatized. We will surely find common ground with those who are sincere and honest about restructuring in our society, he said.

When asked by RUDE PRAVO about the problem of the mutual exchange rates of our currencies, the federal premier replied that it is no secret that a number of price-policy issues in our country, in the USSR, and in a number of other socialist countries require clarification. We are beginning to deal with this problem very seriously. We are finishing work on an analysis of the pros and cons of the existing system. L. Adamec said that he had presented to Comrade Ryzhkov a letter proposing the establishment of a consultative commission that would prospectively assess the questions of prices, exchange rates, and other economic instruments. Over the long term we must work toward a system of uniformly setting prices. The present system, where some aspects can be advantageous for one side and other aspects for the other side, cannot be retained in view of the prospective broadening of bilateral contracts into multilateral contracts. Comrade Ryzhkov accepted my offer, L. Adamec continued. He promised that the Soviet side would take a stand on when these issues will be tackled in practice. I believe that this Czechoslovak initiative has come at the right time and that the solution of this issue is desirable and needed for the prospects of our relations.

Adamec, Janak Hold Talks in Bratislava

AU2702171489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Developing Creative Activity; Meeting Between Ladislav Adamec and Ignac Janak"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday [22 February] Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, arrived in Bratislava. During his visit, he has met with Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

Comrade Ignac Janak briefed Comrade Ladislav Adamec on the provisions for the national economic plan in the 4th year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in Slovakia. In a comradely talk they stressed the demand to continue developing the creative activity of our working people and our youth, as well as of the organizations rallied in the National Front and of national committees in unifying our forces for comprehensively coping with this year's tasks. The meeting was attended by Ivan Knotek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak SR.

Foreign Minister Johanes Receives NAA Delegation

AU2702172389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Developing the Dialogue"]

[Text] Prague—Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received a delegation of North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) deputies, led by George Bruce, chairman of NAA Political Committee, in Prague on Wednesday [22 February]. The delegation consists of representatives of Denmark, France, Holland, Norway, the FRG, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and Great Britain. During their constructive and frank discourse, they appraised the current international situation, disarmament issues, East-West relations, and the situation in Europe with regard to the results of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna. Issues of humanitarian cooperation and human rights were also discussed. The two sides agreed on the useful nature of such encounters, for despite the existing different views, they contribute toward developing a political dialogue and promoting mutual understanding. On the same day, the delegation of NAA deputies was also received by representatives of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, headed by the committee's chairman, Bohuslav Kucera.

Commmentary Assesses James Baker European Tour

AU2702142889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 89 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny commentary: "What Will the Answer Be?"]

[Text] (From our Washington correspondent)—The journalists who accompanied U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on his introductory 8-day tour of all the NATO countries agreed that the new Washington administration will have to find and offer answers to the allies' impatiently put question: What next in NATO?

Baker found that Western Europe is entering a period of reappraising its basic policies, both in the security and economic spheres. This becomes evident first and foremost with the impact of the new political thinking on West European public opinion and policy.

"It is clear that we will have to put up something in answer to Gorbachev's positive image," THE WASHINGTON TIMES quotes an unnamed U.S. official from Baker's party as saying. What this will be is still not known. "Baker had more questions than answers for the Europeans, but it seems that he returned with a significant awareness that new turns, if not direct comprehensive changes in strategy, will be demanded in the coming months from the United States," stated well-known commentator Don Oberdorfer.

The issue first and foremost concerns attitudes toward the new political thinking and its consequences for European security. In the NATO member states of Europe, the view is gathering strength that the military elements of national security are beginning to give way to the economic ones and, therefore, it is necessary to think seriously about how the future common European home ought to take shape.

According to U.S. commentators, Baker took away two main lessons from his first foreign trip: first, that the "perception of the threat" from the USSR and its allies is changing. Whereas for almost the entire postwar period the "feeling of danger" from the East was symptomatic, this feeling is substantially weakened by the changes in Soviet policy, which have farreaching political consequences.

Second, that U.S. policy became convinced that movement toward the economic integration of Western Europe is "surprisingly strong" and obviously irreversible, a fact that will undoubtedly influence future relations between the more self-confident West European members of NATO and the United States.

The first concrete change that Baker noticed was the decision by the FRG Government to postpone its decision on replacing Lance tactical nuclear missiles. Already at the end of last year, the U.S. Department of Defense had set in motion administrative machinery with the aim of starting to deploy a new nuclear missile with a range only slightly below the permitted limit of 500 km.

The reluctance of the FRG to accept new U.S. nuclear weapons on its territory is extremely unwelcome to the Pentagon. Meanwhile, U.S. Government circles are not dramatizing the situation in an attempt not to complicate the domestic political position of Chancellor Kohl, but on Sunday [19 February] Baker announced that "this question ought to be satisfactorily resolved" by the end of May.

How? The United States does not want to give up its plans to introduce new nuclear missiles into its stocks. One of the proposals on how to sell this to West European public opinion is to accompany it, for example, with a significant reduction in the number of nuclear artillery shells.

These maneuvers involving the so-called modernization of NATO nuclear forces in Europe are only a manifestation of the broader changes in the strategic approach toward relationships between the European countries and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Bush administration is well aware of the attraction of Gorbachev's new political thinking for public opinion both in Europe and in the United States. It also knows that, sooner or later, it will have to answer the "big question": What next in East-West, U.S.-USSR relations?

Vaclav Havel Speech at Trial Published

PM0103150989 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Feb 89 p 9

[Speech in his defense by Czechoslovak dissident Vaclav Havel at his recent trial: "My Insignificant Sacrifice"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Czechoslovak writer Vaclav Havel, whose name is linked with the peaceful Charter 77 human rights organization, was allowed to deliver a final speech in his own defense before a sentence of 9 months' imprisonment was recently imposed on him in Prague. After sentence had been passed, he was allowed to make a short statement. Extracts from these were read from the stage of the Norwegian National Theater last Friday [24 March]. Under an agreement with the theater, we here print both speeches in their entirety.

Madame Judge! In the course of this trial and during my interrogation, I have adequately countered all the individual points contained in the charges. Consequently, I will not repeat myself, but will simply summarize my views. In my opinion, neither the charge of agitation nor that of obstructing a public official in the execution of his duty has been proved against me. I therefore consider that I am innocent and demand to be acquitted.

In conclusion, however, I would like to mention an aspect of the whole affair that has not yet been touched on. The charges allege that I attempted to conceal the real antistate and antisocialist character of the whole planned action. Because of this charge, which was not proved and which cannot be proved with concrete facts, a political intention has been ascribed to my behavior. This gives me the right to dwell a little on the political side of this whole affair.

First, I must state that the words "antistate" and "antisocialist" have long since lost their content and their meaning, because due to long and totally arbitrary usage they have been turned into pejorative labels which are applied to any citizen, without any relation to his political views, if he for any reason displeases those in power. Even three general secretaries of the CPCZ have at various times in their lives had this label applied to them: Slansky, Husak, and Dubcek. Today Charter 77 and other independent movements are given this same label, naturally simply because the government is uncomfortable with their activities and because the government feels the need to disqualify them. Nor have the charges against me been free of this type of verbal disparagement.

Then what is really the point of what we are doing? Charter 77 came into existence and acts as an informal association that attempts to monitor how human rights in our country are respected and how corresponding international agreements and, if necessary, Czechoslovakia's own Constitution are observed. For 12 years Charter 77 has been bringing the attention of the various state organs to serious contradictions between undertakings carried out and their practical implementation in society. For 12 years Charter 77 has been pointing to various unhealthy signs of crisis, to breaches of rights enshrined in the Constitution, to arbitrariness, disorder, and incompetence. Through this work Charter 77 expresses views that are held by a significant portion of our society, something of which I am daily convinced. For 12 years we have been offering the state a dialogue on these matters. For 12 years the state has ignored our initiative, but it has imprisoned and persecuted us for it. Today the state itself is admitting a number of problems to which Charter 77 directed attention years ago and which could have been solved long ago if they had been heeded.

Charter 77 has always stressed nonviolence and the legality of its activities. Organizing street violence has never been on Charter 77's agenda, nor is it today. On several occasions I have pointed out most publicly that the degree of respect shown to nonconformist and critical citizens is a yardstick of the respect for public opinion as a whole. I have said many times that the continued lack of respect for peaceful expressions of public opinion could eventually provoke clearer and stronger protests from society. I have said many times that it can be of no help to anyone that the government just sits there waiting for people to begin demonstrating and striking, when this government could avert this through a sober dialogue and a willingness to listen to critics. These warnings did not receive a sympathetic hearing, which is why those in power are today reaping what they have sown in their arrogance.

There is one thing that I do acknowledge: On Monday, 16 January, I planned to leave Wenceslas Square immediately after flowers had been laid at the statue of St. Wenceslas to honor the memory of Jan Palach. But in the end I remained standing there for over an hour, mainly because I could not believe my own eyes. For something had happened that I once would never have dreamed of: The police's totally unnecessary intervention against those who wanted to lay flowers at the statue quietly and without any publicity, then immediately transformed chance passers-by into a protesting crowd. It suddenly became clear to me how deep people's dissatisfaction presumably must be for this to happen.

The charges cite my words concerning the organs of the state—that the situation is serious. I have even said that it is even more serious than they believe. On 16 January I suddenly realized that it is more serious than even I myself had thought. As a citizen, I am concerned that our country should be able to develop in peace and quiet, and that is why I firmly believe that those in power will eventually learn the lesson of what has happened and begin a worthy dialogue with all sectors of society, and not exclude anyone from the dialogue by describing him as antisocialist. I firmly believe that those in power will finally stop behaving toward the various free initiatives like a less than beautiful girl who shatters her mirror in the belief that it is the mirror that is responsible for her appearance. That is why I also believe that I will not again be sentenced for no reason. [Havel concludes]

The sentence is then announced: 9 months' imprisonment under strict regime.

Vaclav Havel's comment:

I do not feel guilty, and consequently, I have nothing to regret. If I am punished I will take my punishment as a sacrifice for a good cause—a sacrifice which is insignificant alongside Jan Palach's absolute sacrifice, which we wanted to commemorate on its 20th anniversary.

Oppositionist Navratil Released From Clinic

LD0103211189 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1830 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Czechoslovakia: The press office of the Christian Peace Conference quotes a report of the organization Christian Solidarity International, according to which Augustin Navratil has been released from a psychiatric institution. According to the aforementioned source, Navratil received a letter from the Ministry of Health saying that he was being released from the psychiatric clinic, that he could go home immediately, and that he will be transferred to in-patient care. Augustin Navratil was sentenced last year to clinical psychiatric care despite a wave of international protests. He is a well-known fighter for human rights and religious freedom, and he supported a petition-signing campaign. The petition in question, as is known, was signed by over 600,000 people in Czechoslovakia.

Proceedings at Government Session Detailed

AU0103091789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Convened; Providing for the Broadest Possible Implementation of the New Economic Mechanism, Beginning With 1 January 1990; Qualitatively New Demands on Cadre Selection for Offices at All Management Levels; Orientation of Czechoslovakia's Foreign Policy Up to the 18th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] Prague—At its plenary session this Thursday [23 February], the CSSR Government discussed the course proposed for providing for the broadest possible implementation of the new economic mechanism as of 1 January 1990. The decisive prerequisite for speedily introducing this mechanism into practice, in line with the CSSR Government's policy statement of November 1988, is to already apply the new principles when working out the 1990 plan and, above all, to make due provision for specific normative rates, tasks, and limits.

In the course of the year it will also be essential to prepare drafts of new or amended basic laws. This applies, inter alia, to the draft laws on national economic planning, and on levies and taxes; to regulations governing financial management and the loan and interest policy and to regulations on accrued wages; to the orientation of economic development and of the instruments of financial management in foreign trade; and also to the regular updating of wholesale prices.

The enterprise sphere will receive the amended laws or their drafts one by one, by the end of the third quarter of this year. The drafting of new legal norms and regulations for economic activities, or of their amended versions, will result in a considerable concentration of work, particularly in cross-sectional central agencies, and will place extraordinary demands on work coordination. For this reason, the CSSR Government adopted a time-and-work schedule which determines the appropriate responsibilities of individual government members and central federal agencies. After extensive discussion, the government issued the instruction to work out in greater detail both the materials and the schedule submitted, including an even more specific list and elaboration of all economic conditions needed for activities in the enterprise sphere. The government attaches particular importance to acquainting the economic staff on all levels, both thoroughly and in a timely way, with the economic conditions under the new mechanism.

The CSSR Government considered the improvement of cadre and personnel work in our state administration and economic sphere, particularly focusing on the tasks with which this sphere will have to cope in view of the accelerating economic and social advancement of our society. The selection of cadres for offices on all management levels must be guided by qualitatively new requirements. Apart from fulfilling the basic political criteria, the senior staff in our state administration and economic sphere must have a broad outlook encompassing the entire society, a high level of professional knowledge and expert qualification, a sense of socialist entrepreneurship, the ability to work with people and to promote new approaches to work, initiative, as well as creativity, and the ability to correctly direct the working people's social activities. In this respect, the government instructed its members and the heads of central federal agencies to provide all the prerequisites needed for our cadre and personnel policy in the spheres administered by them.

The CSSR Government discussed and approved the orientation of the Czechoslovak foreign policy in the period up to the 18th CPCZ Congress. Our main task will be to effectively promote the implementation of restructuring in the CSSR and to create favorable external conditions for a further all-round development of socialist society in our country. In the spirit of new political thinking, Czechoslovakia will orient its entire foreign-political activity toward making the positive trends in the current development of international relations irreversible. From this viewpoint, the further implementation of the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states will be of extraordinary significance. Czechoslovakia expects the conference, to which Ladislav Adamec has invited the heads of government of our neighboring countries, to yield striking progress in the cooperation in environmental protection. These two alternatives are Czechoslovakia's specific contribution to the further development of the Helsinki process of cooperation and security in Europe.

The consolidation of unity and the development of cooperation and friendship with the socialist countries, headed by the USSR, will continue to be the basic priority of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.

In the sphere of cooperation with the developing countries, attention will primarily be focused on countries which have chosen the socialist path of development and on those with which our relations have already developed.

As for the developed capitalist countries, we will proceed in line with the principles of developing relations on the basis of equal rights, mutually advantageous cooperation, and noninterference in internal affairs. In the broad spectrum of relations with these countries, we place particular emphasis on developing mutually advantageous relations with our neighboring countries, with other EEC countries, and with the other developed capitalist states.

In our relations with the United States, we will continue to strive to achieve full normalization in the political and economic spheres on the basis of equal rights and without any kind of discrimination. In the United Nations, in all other international organizations, and at international conferences the CSSR representatives will proceed in the spirit of the main tasks which we have set ourselves.

The CSSR Government expressed its approval over the amending of the CSSR-USSR agreement on social insurance of 1959, according to which sickness benefits were recognized and paid out by the agencies of contracting side on whose territory the citizen in question had his permanent residence. This principle no longer corresponds to the development of mutual cooperation, one of the consequences of which is that an increasing number of Czechoslovak and Soviet citizens are employed on the territory of the other state. That is why the agreement will be amended so as to empower the agencies of the contracting states—provided this is ratified by both countries—to also pay out appropriate social benefits to citizens of the other state who are temporarily working on their territory.

The CSSR Government discussed the proposal to conclude an agreement between the CSSR Government and the Government of the Republic of Mali on cooperation in medical care and medical sciences, and expressed its agreement with this. The government heard the report on the course and results of the international diplomatic conference on aviation law which was held in Montreal. It also heard the information on the course and results of the evaluating Conference on the Protocol on Banning the Use of Asphyxiating, Poisonous, and Similar Gases and Bacteriological Means, which was convened in Paris in January 1989.

The CSSR Premier briefed the government members on the course and results of his official friendly visit to the USSR on 16-18 February 1989. After discussing his report, the government approved the results of Ladislav Adamec's negotiations with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and issued the instruction to provide for the accomplishment of tasks following from the concept of CSSR-USSR economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the next 15-20 years, from the protocol on negotiations between the two government heads, and from the agreement between the CSSR and USSR Governments on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection.

U.S., Foreign Ties Examined

LD2402064589 Prague CTK in English
1900 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—In the spirit of new political thinking, Czechoslovakia will strive in its foreign political activities for the positive tendencies in the present international development to become irreversible, a report on a government session said today.

Of special importance in this respect will be the further implementation of the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. Czechoslovakia expects significant progress in cooperation in environmental protection from a conference to which Premier Ladislav Adamec invited his counterparts from the neighbouring countries. These two initiatives are the country's concrete contribution to the further development of the Helsinki process of cooperation and security in Europe.

The strengthening of unity and the development of cooperation and friendship with the socialist countries, headed by the USSR, will remain the priority of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.

In cooperation with the developing countries, primary attention will be devoted to those which have chosen the socialist path of development and those which Czechoslovakia has developed contacts.

The principles of the development of relations on the basis of equality, mutually advantageous cooperation and noninterference in internal affairs will be applied in contacts with the developed capitalist states. In the wide spectrum of relations with these countries Czechoslovakia puts emphasis especially on the development of mutually advantageous contacts with the neighbouring countries, other E.E.C. states and other developed capitalist countries.

In relations with the United States Czechoslovakia will strive for the full normalization of relations in the political and economic fields on the basis of equality and without discrimination of any kind.

The activity of Czechoslovak representatives in the United Nations and all other international organizations and conferences will be conducted in this spirit.

The government approved the results of talks between Ladislav Adamec and Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov in Moscow last week and made instructions to ensure implementation of the tasks stemming from the concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries for 15-20 years, from the protocol on the two prime ministers' talks and from the agreement between the two countries' governments on cooperation in environmental protection.

The government approved the proposal to sign an agreement with Mali on cooperation in health services and medical sciences.

Debating internal affairs, the government dealt with draft measures to ensure the widest possible application of the new economic mechanism from January 1, 1990. It discussed an improvement of cadre and personnel work in state administration and the economic sphere, especially tasks arising in connection with the acceleration of the economic and social development of society. The choice of cadres for all levels of management must be subordinated to the qualitatively new requirements, the government said.

Presidium Meets on Central Body Personnel Cuts

AU2802144689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Feb 89 p 1

["Report on CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Friday [24 February] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed a report on the course and results of the official, friendly visit by Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, to the USSR on 16-18 February, and acknowledged the measures adopted by the CSSR Government at its session on 23 February.

The Presidium dealt with the preparations for the consultation of secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member states, which is to be held in Prague on 6-7 March. Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Zbynek Sojak, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, will attend the consultation on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The Presidium also discussed an interim report on the implementation of tasks connected with reducing the apparatus of the central bodies, including the placement of the released staffers, and the progress made in vacating premises and their further use. In 1988 the process of reducing the number of staffers of the central bodies went faster than originally envisaged. Within the jurisdiction of the Government of the Czech SR, the set task was implemented last year. A favorable trend can also be seen in the central bodies under the jurisdiction of the Government of the Slovak SR, in which the number of staffers is still to be reduced by 373 to implement the task. Federal central bodies are still to be reduced in the 1st half of 1989 by another 1,355 staffers.

The Presidium acknowledged the preparations of draft principles of a law on inventions, industrial designs, and improvement proposals. The basic intention of the law on inventions is to create better conditions for creative technical activity and its social application. The Presidium valued the endeavor to harmonize national interests with the justified interests of enterprises, inventors, and improvers. This is a matter that aims at strengthening their economic interests and, at the same time, their responsibility for creating and using new technologies while utilizing inventions, industrial designs, and proposals aimed at improvement.

The Presidium acknowledged a report on the CSSR Government's efforts to deal with feed grain needs to ensure the domestic market's demand for meat and other animal-derived products.

It also discussed a report on the course and results of the visit by Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Czech premier, to Bavaria, in the FRG, on 18-19 February.

Church Affairs Secretary Criticizes Tomasek

AU1602113489 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 16 Feb 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Vladimir Janku, director of the CPCZ Central Committee Church Affairs Secretariat, by Otto Janecek in Marianske Lazne: "Only Ignorants Can Be Against the Church"—date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] When we arrive in Marianske Lazne, it is already dark. The chauffeur drives up to a sanatorium. Vladimir Janku, director of the Central Committee Church Affairs Secretariat, is there. Janku was appointed to this post only a few years ago, and he did not want it. He originally worked in a different field of the Central Committee. Today, however, everyone is glad that the relatively young man is fulfilling this task. Janku has familiarized himself well with the matter. He is respected by high church officials and knows how to negotiate with them. He is well versed in his field and in church history. [passage omitted]

As for the appointment of bishops, the practice of the First Republic has been resumed. The authorities have to agree to the appointment of bishops, and bishops have to declare their loyalty. Janku said that "we communists are not anticlerical. Only political ignorants would be. We do not want to struggle against the church, but we will not allow the church to fight against socialism...." [passage omitted]

Janku: "We are holding a permanent dialogue with the church. We had a meeting only last week, and we had a meeting with 220 representatives of all religions last year on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Republic. Premier Adamec delivered a speech that was greeted with general applause. There is a wide field in which we can cooperate with the Catholic officials: on social issues, family questions, and so on. Whenever a problem arises we get together...."

"However, at the same time we reject the efforts of those who made themselves the representatives of the believers. This so-called underground church is in reality identical to Charter 77. In Prague they are referred to as "the diocese in the metro" because almost all of them work there. Not because we sent them down there, but because that is how they wanted it. They work for a few hours cleaning the subway while it is closed, and then they are free during the day for their own activities. The official church strictly rejects them. The only member of the high clergy who maintains contact with them is Cardinal Tomasek...."

I will keep to the topic of Tomasek. "Cardinal Tomasek wrote yet another letter to Premier Adamec, in which he condemns the police actions against the demonstrators in Wenceslas Square...."

Janku: "There are even two letters that were written on different typewriters. This means that these letters are most likely not from the cardinal. He only signed them. Tomasek is very old—90 years old. It is the pope who opposes his resignation, because he needs Tomasek for obvious reasons. Tomasek signs almost anything that people give him. He writes contradictory letters and makes contradictory statements...." [passage omitted]

There is another Catholic group in southern Moravia which engages in politicizing, but this is a different affair. Its strategy is to misuse church celebrations for political purposes. There are pilgrim marches to the "Holy Mountain," to Velehrad in southern Moravia, and so on. At night, young people approach the pilgrims with guitars and begin to sing political songs. Then they try to turn the group of pilgrims into something different. This is a new technique. Moreover, there is the permanent influence by Western stations—Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, the Austrian radio and television service (ORF), the FRG's Mainz ZDF television network, and so on. These stations receive their information even before we are officially informed about a certain event...." [passage omitted]

Official Views Problems in Investment Policy

AU2802095689 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Report on a news conference in Prague by Vladimir Lexa, first deputy chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, by Lubos Horcic: "The Inverted Triangle"; date not given]

[Text] Last year the federal government investigated selected major incomplete investment projects. Large amounts of money drown in these projects and, because construction in our country takes a long time, twice as long as in the rest of the world, the invested capital is immobilized. This government decision must be assessed as an expression of courage, as one of the first specific acts of the structural changes that we talk about. Speaking about the results of this inquiry at a news conference in Prague this week, Vladimir Lexa, first deputy chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, described capital investment as a precarious problem in our economy. Enterprises are dragging their feet and, quite to the contrary, demand additional funds. Sometimes they do so in vain. Of the 308 projects included in the inquiry (projects that are under construction or whose construction was to begin next year), 11 have been halted immediately while the others were found to have serious shortcomings. If these are not eliminated, then construction will be halted. The mistakes at 113 projects are of a partial nature, while the remaining projects have, according to the results of the board of inquiry, prerequisites for efficient use. However, domestic investors and subcontractors are not necessarily the culprits in all cases. Some of the original intentions have had to be scaled down because of the not always flawless cooperation within CEMA. Commenting on this, V. Lexa said that we must now think more in terms of self-reliance and self-supply.

The inquiry into selected investment projects is to continue this year; the commission is planning to check up on another 50 projects. Only the following projects will be started this year without any restrictions: ecological projects, projects within comprehensive housing construction and concomitant projects, and modernization projects where the cost of the construction portion does not exceed 10 percent of the total cost. Of the other projects planned, only those whose construction time, inter alia, will be cut by 20 percent compared with the present timetable will be permitted to be started. Asked by MLADA FRONTA why the construction of the Prague television transmitter was not included in the inquiry, V. Lexa said that projects that are 80-percent completed, which is the case of the transmitter, had not been selected. It is true that its construction is a mistake, but the tower is about to be completed and dismantling it would be more costly than completing it. The aim now therefore will be to put it to the best possible use, although the effect will not be optimal.

However, the inquiry itself is not the only thing that matters. The inquiry has wide-ranging implications, some aspects of which are not connected with it at first glance. V. Lexa cited as an example the costly projects ensuring supplies of energy, especially power stations. Far less heed is being paid to energy conservation. The heat permeability of our prefabricated panels, for example, is one-third higher than that of Austrian or West German panels. There are more such examples.

Last year's decision by the federal government to inspect selected investment projects is remarkable also from a different point of view. It is not seldom that one speaks about the inverted triangle of management in our economy—that is, about powerful enterprises forcing their superiors to make concessions in their favor, instead of the pinnacle controlling the base. The inquiry holds out the hope that negative pressure from below will be curbed.

Joint Trade Protocol Signed With Cuba

AU2102101089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Feb 89 p 4

[CTK report: "Cooperation in Trade"]

[Text] Havana—With the signing of a protocol which sets out the main directions of future cooperation and which particularly points out the need to improve research and development cooperation, a meeting of leading representatives of domestic trade ministries of socialist countries concluded in Havana on Saturday [18 February]. Representatives of CEMA member states, Angola, Laos, and Nicaragua participated in the meeting. Josef Rab, Czech SR minister of trade and tourism, headed the Czechoslovak delegation. At the end of his stay in Cuba, Josef Rab and Manuel Vila Sosa, the Cuban trade minister, signed a protocol on CSSR-Cuban cooperation in the sphere of trade. The document sets out an increased exchange of goods and the implementation of several new forms of cooperation. These include, for example, an expansion of the possibilities for Czechoslovak workers to vacation in Cuba in exchange for supplies of consumer goods and cooperation within the framework of which the CSSR would guarantee raw materials for a textile combine in Santa Clara, Cuba. In the final phase, this would supply cotton and mixed fabrics to the CSSR for the manufacture of linen and clothing.

Grosz Interviewed on Reform, Multiparty System

LD2702141189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1012 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, Feb 26 (TANJUG)—The introduction of a multi-party system in Hungary is a novelty but not a historic event, Hungarian party leader Karoly Grosz told the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) general secretary was talking to TANJUG's Director General Mihailo Saranovic and Budapast correspondent Srdjan Basic ahead of his brief working visit to Yugoslavia tomorrow.

Even a multi-party system is not a guarantee that grave social mistakes will not be repeated, Grosz said. However, there will be less room for bad decisions because parties will be publicly controlling one another, he said.

Grosz believes that Hungary must build three basic safeguards into its system—norms ensuring legality, openness and multiple candidacies.

Asked whether the HSWP was handing some of the power to others, Grosz said that no party in the world had even renounced its vanguard role. He said both the party leadership and members believed that the HSWP was capable of retaining its leading role.

Grosz said that his party would not keep a monopoly on power because it desired cooperation with different forces in society. He said that political power was already shared in Hungary though not as much as was desired.

Grosz said that the Hungarians wanted a socialist state and that the very term socialism would be enshrined in the preamble to the new constitution and that socialist aspirations would permeate the whole constitution.

According to Grosz, there are two main causes of the changing image of socialism in the world today. First, there is a "liberated spirit" which no longer accepts an oversimplified concept of socialism, its failure to create modern institutions to implement its aspirations, he said. Many who have ruled in its name and have compromised it have also been a heavy burden on socialism, Grosz said.

Grosz thinks that although there is no socialist model that is applicable to every country there are certain characteristics that set socialism apart from other social systems, notably mixed ownership with state ownership prevailing and the elimination of social inequalities.

He does not believe that Hungary's economic reform has lost its breath. In the early 1980s, he said, economic reform was ahead of political changes and was reflected in great strides in industrial modernisation, agriculture and a new law on enterprises.

He said that reformed banking and tax systems were giving good results and that the economy was to benefit greatly from a new anti-inflation programme and a law on the protection of foreign investment, which are yet to be adopted.

Grosz said that Hungary's foreign debt of nearly 10 billion dollars and other material difficulties represented objective obstacles to the implementation of economic reform. In his view, they will be much less of a burden if they are followed up with adequate political changes. He believes that political reform should spearhead the whole effort and that a third, ideological reform is lagging behind.

Grosz said that Hungary wanted to improve ties with the European Community (EC) and other economic and regional communities. He said, however, that the EC had turned into a political community in which a socialist country could only figure as a foreign body. He said he had been told plainly in Davos that Hungary could not become an EC member.

Grosz said that Hungary could not become an EC member.

Grosz said that Hungary also urged a transformation of East Europe's economic grouping, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), greater independence of its members and the introduction of a convertible currency.

On relations with the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, he said that the Soviet Union would begin withdrawing troops from Hungary this year and continue next year. He said that all Soviet troops would leave Hungary if U.S. troops withdrew from West Europe though the pull-outs did not have to "coincide".

On national minority rights, Grosz said that there were differences in the socialist world. Hungary's position is that a country must ensure conditions for the manifestation of ethnic characteristics and allow nationalities to maintain regular contacts with their mother countries.

Karoly Grosz Interviewed on Baranya Visit

LD2602031889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0545 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Interview with General Secretary Karoly Grosz by correspondent Csaba Belensesi, on 24 February at the conclusion of Grosz's visit to Baranya County—recorded]

[Text] [Belenesi] You have visited Baranya County which, if things there do not shape up well in the mining sector, could become the next crisis spot of Hungarian industry. You listened to many problems, and it appeared to me that you were enquiring honestly about these. But throughout your tour, you were very decisively demonstrating that you are the number one leader of Hungarian politics, whose job is not to take measures in the place of government.

[Grosz] Yes, that is true. I must say that of course this caused me considerable problems because, although it has been several months since I was relieved of my post of prime minister, from time to time the reflexes nevertheless still function. Whereas precisely in the spirit of the May party conference decision we are deliberately working to see that a new type of cooperation between the state and the party leadership is introduced, so that the party center and the party apparatus in general take part in the concrete handling and management of affairs much more moderately [sokkal mertektartobban] than previously. Now, the reason that I used such a complex formulation—more moderately—is because so far, the system of institutions itself, the mechanism, have enticed the political leadership to increasingly interfere operationally in affairs.

[Belenesi] With what feelings are you leaving the Mecsek miners? You conducted a very open exchange of views, but as a matter of fact, the atmosphere was calm.

[Grosz] The adjective calm is perhaps not quite accurate, because the exchange of views was fairly passionate, hard...

[Indistinct interruption by Belenesi]

[Grosz] No, very hard words were exchanged in the course of the conversation there. But the biggest thing for me about this was that everything they said was true, and it was all constructive. At the same time, I am not sure if my impression is correct, but a wonderful kind of strength was also present during that conversation. Along with the problems, the troubles—here and there a little bitterness, because there was that, too—there was a willingness to act and the sense of certainty that yes, we will together fight those problems that we are so passionately discussing. Even last year it was not against the miners that I bore a grudge, nor even against the leaders, but rather against the method they used. I do not consider strikes themselves to be a constructive method.

[Belenesi] In Baranya there is a consistent program to eliminate the irregularities springing from, on the one hand, the bad practices of the past, and on the other, if you like, from individual initiatives. They plan to do this by legal means—in other words, to ensure that the thing does not tip to one side or the other. What is the political leadership's opinion of such a county? After all, one could even say that there is always something happening here.

[Grosz] Look. My experiences show that where nothing happens there generally—and I put this in quotation marks—generally there is much more of the kind of thing where it might not be bad if something did happen. Therefore, I am on the side of those who live where something is happening, because I know that a healthy spirit indicates, and also confirms, the process of self-purification, the capacity to reveal conflicts. And there is a need for this. To me, calm and peaceful waters are suspicious. This world is a little bit more complex than that, and there is more tension and more debt.

[Belenesi] My last question is: At the mass political rally in Pecs, you said that the Army and the police, at least in the long terms, should be withdrawn from the immediate political sphere of influence. And last week, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay also said a similar thing in Paks. On the other hand, I have here Friday's [24 February] issue of NEPSZABADSAG. In this I read that MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti held a military aktiv meeting in Szekesfehervar. The headline reads: The MSZMP Has a Place in the Hungarian People's Army. Moreover, it is written in the text: Without the party, the Army would not be able to operate. Is there not a contradiction in this?

[Grosz] This is only an apparent contradiction. Gyorgy Fejti represents the same thing that Imre Pozsgay and I, too, represent, because our conceptions and our convictions were shaped and formed in the same workship. Both Imre Pozsgay and I were speaking of a longer-term prospect, and I am convinced that the country's security, and the interests of the people, in other words the state of public security, do not permit this within the Army, within the staff of the Ministry of Interior, and in other armed corps as well, because political conflicts could diminish the ability to function. One can naturally sketch prospects, but the road leading there is made up of parts.

Also, with regard to other areas of political cooperation, today I said that in the first phase I view this consensual form of cooperation as being justified, and that later a competitive situation can evolve. The security service should be eliminated from this competitive situation so that this sort of thing does not happen there. This, I would like to stress, means a reciprocal obligation. And this does not mean, let us say, that in the Army every officer will be a member of the MSZMP, and this does not mean that one cannot be a member of another party. All this means is that the Army and the security service themselves cannot be an arena for party contests.

Nemeth Addresses Agriculture Conference

LD2702161989 Budapest MTI in English 1504 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 27, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Should progress take the direction of a "new land distribution", or will the current pattern of large-scale farming be replaced by small farms? What kind of agrarian policy will be adopted in order to halt the decline of the profitability of agricultural activities, and what changes are made in the representation of agrarian interests? These were just some of the questions that came up for discussion at an extraordinary meeting of cooperative farms over the weekend.

The participants agreed that a new land act was needed, and the relations of ownership should be modified so as to give cooperative members genuine ownership of a decisive part of cooperative property.

In his address, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said, "...it has now become clear that without a reform of ownership there will be no progress in the agrarian sphere, either".

The head of the government urged competition, adding that the proportion of private, cooperative and state ownership and that of small and large enterprises, should not be decided on on the basis of some ideological or political consideration.

The prime minister stressed the government could not renounce the gradual withdrawal of state subsidies, but it will attempt to improve the crediting system and reduce interest rates.

Mr Istvan Szabo, member of the party Political Committee and president of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives (TOT), called the restrictions of land use "totally obsolete". He urged the creation of a system of values in which farmland has a real market value, and can be traded and treated as any other property.

Janos Eleki, TOT's general secretary, said there were neither realistic grounds nor technical conditions for a new distribution of land, or for the creation of an agriculture dominated by farms, for that matter.

The general secretary called the present contradictions of the agricultural pricing system "quite intolerable", as it gives agricultural activities only 5-6 per cent profitability, whereas bank loans draw 20 per cent interest.

In the years 1970-1989, the price level of industrial products used in agriculture rose from 100 to 230.4, but the agricultural product purchase price level increased only to 187.7. On average, industrial prices grew 40 per cent faster than those in agriculture.

Minister of Agriculture Jeno Vancsa said they intended to raise wheat purchase prices by 15-20 per cent by 1990.

The conclusion of the general debate was, however, that preferential loans and interest rates failed to offer an essential solution and amounted at best to temporary assistance.

Speakers pointed out that state support to agriculture was considerably lower in Hungary than the European average. While economic policy was driving agricultural enterprises to export almost beyond their means to help improve the country's foreign economic balance, it was giving them only 43-per-cent support per product unit, whereas the corresponding proportion reached 87 per cent in the Common Market countries.

Conference participants considered the cooperative form of farming as an acceptable model in a market economy too, but pressed for the renewal of the interest representation system of agrarian cooperatives so that it can work more efficiently.

Policy Statement Adopted

LD2602015789 Budapest MTI in English
1736 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—On the second day of the extraordinary conference of agricultural cooperatives organized in Budapest on the conditions of cooperative farming and the renewal of interest representation, Janos Eleki, general secretary of the National Council of Agricultural Production Cooperatives (TOT), spoke of the importance of defining the term "cooperative property". He stated, "...we have to reach the point where the so-called indivisible cooperative property, mainly land, will actually be in the possession of cooperative members".

In his contribution Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food, called for creating conditions for the transfer of state lands to the farmers' ownership.

He said the performance of Hungarian agriculture was not as poor as might have appeared from the contributions. For instance, in 1988 gross agricultural output rose by 4 per cent and net production by 6 per cent, in excess of the national economic average, and agrarian exports amounted to 1,600 million dollars with a surplus of more than 900 million. Mr Vancsa stressed that agriculture in Hungary has greater weight than in the advanced countries, as it provides living for 4.5 million of the country's 10.6 million inhabitants, who all have a crucial interest in continuing the reform.

In his closing address, Istvan Szabo, president of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, stated that agreement was reached on the necessity of going ahead with the reform, including further transformation of property relations and creation of greater incentives in agricultural production. He said that a further reason for not delaying renewal of interest representation was because multi-dimensional power would break the monopoly of interest representation. He pointed out the TOT's intention to negotiate with other social organizations.

In conclusion of the two-day discussion, the conference adopted a policy statement, which says that the further devaluation of peasant work should be prevented, identical conditions created in market competition, and a new land law drafted. On the renewal of cooperative policy, the document gives priority to the evolvement of total proprieotory autonomy in the cooperatives, and attaches great importance to transferring the operation of indivisible cooperative assets to the competence of members' self-government.

According to the policy statement, further improving the cooperative system of interest representation is a pressing necessity, and only the development of law statehood can guarantee representation and protection of collective and personal interests. The policy statement, with certain amendments, was adopted by the conference.

Nemeth Discusses Law Banning Demonstrations

LD2802100189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] In Vas County, head of government Miklos Nemeth met with parliamentary deputies. At the meeting they first discussed topics on the agenda of the next National Assembly session. The deputies said they believe that the passage of the law on assembly, which bans the organization of political demonstrations on Kossuth Square in Budapest, must be amended. In his reply, Miklos Nemeth said that the government submitted two versions to the National Assembly. The first one bans demonstrations only during National Assembly sessions, while the other would uphold the ban with other conditions.

Nemeth on New Procedure for Nominating Speaker

LD2702204189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The MSZMP Politburo is not nominating anyone for speaker of the National Assembly to replace Istvan Stadinger, who is leaving his post. The next speaker will be chosen differently than was formerly the case. Miklos Nemeth, Politburo member and head of government, said this in Szombathely to deputies from Vas County. He said a nominating committee will be chosen on the 1st day of the session starting a week from Wednesday [8 March]. All county deputy groups will nominate a member to this. All deputies can make proposals concerning the person of the new speaker, and it is conceivable that the National Assembly speaker could be elected at this very session.

Nyers Interviewed on Changes in Political System

LD0103201689 Budapest MTI in English 1906 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Rome, March 1 (MTI)—"The transformation of the political system and the success of economic reform can solely be brought about by the joining of social forces and groupings," says State Minister Rezso Nyers, member of the HSWP Poitical Committee, in an interview to the Milan-based CORRIERE DELLA SERA. The special correspondent of the paper gave an outline of the political organizations recently formed in Hungary.

"There is a possibility for cooperation between the groups, if they are given equal rights and chances in society. The HSWP also has to renew itself and seek, day by day, the confidence and support of the people," Rezso Nyers said.

Speaking of the negative phenomena he pointed out:

"The alternative organizations often do not go beyond the criticism of the past, and seem unable to find feasible solutions or the means. At the same time, within the HSWP, there are still a number of people (mainly middle cadres and members of the apparatus) who are not willing to recognize the need for a market economy and its accessories." Mr Nyers did not exclude the possibility that this "fundamentalist" wing might break off from the party and become independent.

When asked about the model the reformist wing of the HSWP wants to achieve, Mr Nyers answered:

"For the communist parties that want to break away from Stalinism, huge vistas have been opened towards the establishment of genuine political democracy. What I personally have in mind is a socialist society which would synthesize the practices of communism and social democracy. From social democracy it would borrow the parliamentary democracy, market economy, the autonomy of trade unions and the notion of self government, and from the communist ideology, the spirit of collectivism freed from any Utopia, the struggle for social equality and a bold approach to transformation."

Finally Mr Nyers said that he was satisfied with the resolution of the latest session of the HSWP Central Committee, which confirmed "the final defeat of Stalinism" in Hungary.

Nyers Discusses Strike Law, Labor Code

LD2702183789 Budapest MTI in English 1611 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—'The government's objective is by no means to make a restrictive strike law,' State Minister Rezso Nyers said in the course of a discussion on the strike law and the proposed modification to the labour code with the alternative organizations.

The meeting, held in the State Wages and Manpower Office (AMBH) on Monday, was aimed at deciding whether the strike law was coming at an opportune time. The exchange could not, however, alter the position of the alternative organizations, who, for varying reasons, all regard the formation of this law as a rash measure in view of the prevailing economic, social and political conditions.

Csaba Ori of the Democratic Trade Union of Research Workers said that the approval of the bill would have tragic consequences, since, instead of consolidation, it would lead Hungarian society towards confrontation, as well as hinder the establishment of a policy of consensus.

'The labour authorities are open to any proposal which would make for an adequate law,' ABMH President Csaba Halmos said, 'therefore, the debate on the bill should continue.' He promised to present views surfacing during the debates to the March session of the National Assembly.

Fejti Speech Closes Central Committee Session

AU2802100589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed report on concluding speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti following the debate at the 20 February session of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Gyorgy Fejti's Concluding Speech"]

[Text] In his introduction, Gyorgy Fejti said that the working committee that the Central Committee commissioned to prepare the legislative tasks will evaluate and employ the lessons of this rich and varied debate. This is all the more possible because this concept has been submitted to the Central Committee for the first reading, and because the body will later discuss the major principles of the Constitution and the draft constitution.

Gyorgy Fejti asked the Central Committee to support the idea that this concept should serve as the basis for a broad debate, including a very intensive party debate. However, one has to take into account the fact that a very broad debate will emerge when the text of the draft constitution is also available. The concept should be made available to everyone in the basic party organizations, and the local organizations should decide on which form to choose in discussing the concept.

"We have been blamed for the fact that there is no clear stand on the party's concept concerning a series of fundamentally important issues. There is not yet such a clear stand because we do not yet know the position of party members; we have just started the debate. I learned from this debate that it is worth leaving the majority of alternatives open. However, in the meantime we should also state our position on which alternative we prefer. We must also find the proper time to draw the lessons of these debates and to narrow down the circle of controversial issues. Therefore, I propose that, in considering the lessons of these debates, we should submit an interim report to the Central Committee, and based on this, we should ask for possible stands on important details. We want to submit two or three important details—like the party law, the concept of the constitutional court, and the concept of the presidential system—to the session planned for the end of March."

In conclusion, Gyorgy Fejti pointed out that the debate clearly showed that the constitution should support our desire and commitment to follow the road of socialist development, and all this in a way in which we stipulate principles and basic values. We are facing great tasks in working these out. The debate also showed that the text of the new constitution should exclude the possibility of a recapitalization [rekapitalizacio]. The debate also confirmed that we will have to discuss the commitment for a socialist road in two places in the constitution: in the preamble and in the chapter dealing with the social and economic order. There are also things to be clarified in respect to property relations and the issue of economic constitutionalism.

Gyorgy Fejti also considered it important to strive to achieve the broadest publicity and broadest consultations possible during the preparation of the constitution. This is because a constitution can have stable values only if a consensus on major issues has essentially been attained prior to the adoption of this constitution. These debates have to be carried out with strong nerves and with patience, even if various political groups use these debates as an arena of confrontation. Gyorgy Fejti asked the Central Committee not to conclude debate on a one-chamber or two-chamber parliament because not enough work has yet been done to decide whether or not we need a second chamber.

A very passionate debate occurred at the Central Committee session on the administration of justice, its structure, and the role of the courts and prosecutors offices. However, a debate of interests also emerged here, in addition to a debate of arguments. The professional and political debates on these issues should continue, and solutions should be found which will settle the issue as soon as possible.

As for human rights and citizens' rights, these are already quite well represented in their current form in the draft constitution. "We did not reach this point as a result of foreign or domestic pressure, but we do have a well-understood interest in expressing the citizens' sovereignty, their initiatives, and their disagreement," Fejti pointed out.

As for the state symbols, Gyorgy Fejti said that when we are reviewing almost every issue, there is no point in fighting over our current coat-of-arms. It would perhaps be even more difficult to agree on a new coat-of-arms. Therefore, our position is limited to whether we should consider the past, and to what extent. I think we could declare the Kossuth coat-of-arms to be the preferable one.

As for the proposal to find a constitutional framework for the regulation of armed services and bodies, we will begin this activity, Gyorgy Fejti noted. "We must view the armed services and bodies as important means of guaranteeing our stability, national survival, and national independence, and we should protect them from daily political upheavals. Similarly, we should analyze, among our basic foreign policy principles, some sort of a positive approach to the issue of Hungarians living beyond our borders, an approach that our neighbors will not misunderstand and one that will not contravene international law and our international agreements."

'Harsh' Romanian Response to Rights Charges

LD2802184889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] In Bucharest there has been a very harsh response to the speech that Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs, made in Geneva, in which he urged the United Nations to investigate Romanian infringements of the law.

Romania accuses Hungary of irredentism and hidden [mogottes] intentions because it has raised the issue of the Hungarian minority in Romania to the UN Human Rights Commission. In his Geneva address, Ambassador Dolgu claimed that Romania's people have been well acquainted with these intentions for centuries. He recalled the atrocities in Transylvania between 1940-44, and he described the statements that have been made concerning the situation of the Romanian minorities as being distorted. In his view, the reason why all this is being raised is to divert the attention of the Hungarian public from domestic problems.

At the same time, he alleged that in Hungary they are liquidating the Romanian minority and that certain reactionary circles are carrying out anti-Romanian acts. According to Ambassador Dolgu, in Romania every citizen enjoys equal rights, and Bucharest rejects all interference in her internal affairs. However, it is ready to cooperate with anyone and to debate the present state of affairs in Romania.

Mass Rally To Replace May Day Demonstration

LD2802152989 Budapest MTI in English 1406 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 28, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—This year, no May Day demonstration is to be staged in Budapest at Heroes' Square, the traditional venue of demonstrations but a mass rally will be held instead.

Officials of the Budapest Council of the Council of Trade Unions, who have been the organizers of the demonstration so far, are of the view that about 1 million forints can be saved owing to this novel arrangement.

The organization of demonstrations—which were made more spectacular by various performances and living pictures—used to cost an annual between 2.5 and 3 million forints.

Officials say that most of the costs were covered by business units which turned out with trucks decorated with flags and company emblems. Traffic arrangements also caused losses.

Council officials, however, say the reason for the change in the programme lies in an effort "to return to old traditions of the workers' movement", not in cost reduction goals.

Accordingly, instead of the traditional demonstration with a crowd of 100,000 people taking part in the march every year, only a mass rally will be staged, with HSWP Secretary General Karoly Grosz as the chief speaker.

Rezso Nyers To Address Crowd

LD0103182589 Budapest MTI in English 1522 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, along with the Patriotic People's Front, proposes that on March 15 this year, Hungary's greatest national holiday, the Presidential Council, the government and the president of the National Assembly should lay a wreath—according to state protocol—on the monument to Hungarian heroes and the statue of Lajos Kossuth, the first independent governor of Hungary.

A political rally is to be held in front of the National Museum, where the events of March 15, 1848, took place. 60,000 to 70,000 people are expected to be in attendance, and Minister of State Rezso Nyers, member of the HSWP Political Committee, will deliver a speech.

The Budapest committee of the HSWP expects active participation in, and contribution to, the events from representatives of various organizations and movements.

Debrecen MDF To Celebrate 15 Mar

LD2802101289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The general assembly of the Debrecen organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] closed with an unexpected decision. In the debate related to the 15 March celebrations, the opinion prevailed, albeit with a minimal majority, that although the MDF Debrecen organization understands the stand taken by the national presidium, and although it expresses solidarity in connection with the independent celebrations to be held in Budapest, it considers our national holiday to be the common cause of the entire Hungarian people, and regardless of party position or political affiliation, wishes to celebrate with the citizens of Debrecen.

Groups Plan Symbolic Occupation of TV Station

LD0103092289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] There are indications that the independent groups and organizations do not wish to renounce their plan to march to Szabadsag Square in Budapest on 15 March, and to symbolically occupy the premises of Hungarian television.

A statement to this effect was signed by representatives of 21 organizations. The document states that the alternative groups do not wish to forcibly enter the television station's building. They are not calling for the use of any kind of force and they do not wish to disturb the work of the institution in this way. However, they do expect the television department to broadcast on 15 March the 12-point call of the independent democratic organizations, which is entitled: What Does the Hungarian Nation Want?

Meanwhile, several Budapest and district committees of the PPF have signalled their protest against the symbolic occupation of the television department.

Government's CEMA, Warsaw Pact Roles Viewed

LD2602224489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Report by unidentified announcer]

[Excerpts] A week and a half ago, when I was in Prague, I heard that MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz was just as unsatisfied with the present state of CEMA as was his host and colleague, Milos Jakes. It has fashionable in CEMA, in the (?just) 40-year-old organization, to worry about the fate of CEMA itself. I think I am not mistaken if I say that there is no high-level meeting within our bloc at which the participants do not complain about the organization, whereas it is precisely they who are called on to reform it.

It is not by chance that I use the word fashionable. It is with this that I wished to indicate that the internal criticism of CEMA is not always profound, sincere, or well-considered. In my heart I would say that Hungary is the only CEMA member state which, although in veiled and sometimes obviously overcomplicated wording, has made it clear that the organization, within the present framework, does not function in the same way as the economic-social formation known as existing socialism. CEMA, taken in its entirety, just as the national economies that participate in it, has proved and is proving incapable of catching up to the most developed industrial countries.

The answer lies in the details. It is false reasoning to look at the deficiencies of CEMA for the remedy to something for which the organization is not responsible. For, the participating units themselves should realize successful reforms at home for the functioning of the organization to change. [passage omitted]

While the capacity for survival of restructuring remains in doubt due to the relative weakness of Gorbachev and the handful of reformers clustered around him, and it has not managed to break through the opposition of the apparatuses and industrial lobbies that have an interest in the maintenance of the plan-directed system. Unytil then, the new Soviet model does not and will not radiate enough of an effect on the others.

That is the present situation. In this, Viktor Meyer, an analyst from the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, is correct that in the face of the socialist market economy—and more simply, the market economy—a kind of rejection front has been created and is functioning which encompasses primarily Romania and the GDR, and to a lesser extent Bulgaria and perhaps Czechoslovakia.

It would be a sin to be untruthful before our Warsaw Pact allies, but it must be pointed out that Romania and the GDR are standing in the way of every kind of reform with untenable ideological arguments. This is particularly strange in the case of the GDR, for its earlier and present Stalinist system is being kept alive by its de facto EEC membership. This is because the GDR is a like-beneficiary of the absolutely tax-free internal German trade, from which, according to Western estimates, it gains more than $4 billion annually. With such a gift, for example, Hungary could keep its head above water quite well.

Unfortunately, amid such circumstances Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on making the ruble freely convertible and creating a unified socialist market can be viewed as an illusion. A similar sentence can be pronounced on the wish of the 44th CEMA meeting at Prague that a unified internal CEMA market be created. This is because, concerning the internal market in the CEMA member states, with the exception of Hungary and Poland, nothing or almost nothing has moved in the direction of market orientation. The whole region is unchangingly characterized by the shortage economy, and there is no foreign currency convertibility that would make possible multilateral cooperation on the basis of real money relations. [passage omitted]

The question is: Taking into account CEMA's cul-de-sac development, which way should Hungary direct itself? I draw your attention to a few questions from the recent past.

Ferenc Bartha, president of the Hungarian National Bank, said in Strasbourg at the meeting of the European Parliament: The key to our economic stabilization and development is our greater integration with the West, and within this, primarily with Western Europe. He also said that the radical reform of the system of CEMA's functioning depends on the pace of the realization of the economic reform processes of the member states. With this, the bank president was saying that the CEMA partners' renunciation of their antimarket orientation is indispensable for CEMA's becoming capable of functioning.

Just a month ago, Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy said at the CEMA Executive Committee's 130th session that as for the entirety of CEMA modernization, there is no other state whose ideas completely cover ours. Let us quote a few thoughts from Karoly Grosz's speeches in Davos: The modern, demanding development of cooperation with CEMA is our interest.... We must widen the ties that we maintain with the EEC. Furthermore, new possibilities for cooperation must be explored with the EFTA countries. [passage omitted]

But, the situation is that Austria, Finland, and what is more, even Yugoslavia, are heading toward the EEC. In other words, EFTA could even be facing disintegration. The EEC has too great a drawing power. Except for that, the situation of Austria and Finland is not settled, and we have reason to believe that the Soviet Union would not look at all kindly on the integration of neutral countries into the EEC. This is because Soviet political thinking, even up to today, perceives NATO's economic projection into the EEC, and as a consequence, it views any neutral country joining the EEC as a factor helping to upset the military policy balance. In this case Ireland is the only exception. I add, think of one that belongs to the Warsaw Pact joining the EEC!

In conclusion, it must be said that if our economic integration with the West, which the president of the National Bank termed the key question of our development, is a serious intention, then here, too, gradual progress, step by step, must be asserted. So, in my opinion—and here I am expressing my own opinion—the key question, therefore, of our national strategy is how to leave CEMA in a way that we still remain a member of the Warsaw Pact, and how to leave the military-political balance of power that has developed in Europe unchanged.

Democratic Forum Urges Pact Democratization

LD2602214789 Budapest MTI in English
2015 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—The Federation of Free Democrats organized a debate on the alliance system in Jurta Theatre on Sunday [26 February]. Participants stressed they consider it the chief task of Hungarian foreign policy to bring the country closer and closer to the advanced European countries. The neutrality ideal was mentioned by several contributors merely as a prospective foreign policy programme. They called for democratizing Warsaw Treaty structures, gradually reducing its military nature and strengthening its character of a political alliance of principle. Some said that should Hungary develop into a democratic state, it will no longer be necessary for the country to remain a Warsaw Treaty member.

According to the Federation of Free Democrats, the Transylvanian refugees should be given Hungarian citizenship unconditionally, and the Hungarian state should use all political means at its disposal to help the Hungarian minorities of the neighbour countries live in their homeland in full possession of their human and national rights. The federation's policy statement concerning foreign policy proposed to ask for a political moratorium for the repayment of loans.

Historian Miklos Szabo read out the letter of Geza Kotai, head of department at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in which the politician welcomed the policy statements of the federation as a document which deals with the major problems not in opposition to the HSWP but along the lines of Hungarian foreign policy bearing its marks as well. At present, the letter said, the HSWP is also working to bring Hungary closer to advanced Europe. On the other hand, Mr Kotai called attention to the fact that the 1956 neutrality manifesto, which was revoked and accepted by the federation, has become outdated. In addition, this question goes beyond the frames of real politics and can only be long-term aim, Mr Kotai said in his letter.

Ferenc Munnich Society's Secretary Interviewed

LD2802121489 Budapest MTI in English
1055 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—"The multi-party system in itself does not solve anything, the point is what these parties can do in the interest of an economic boom", said Ferenc Berenyi, acting secretary of the Ferenc Munnich Society (MFT), in an interview with MTI. Mr Berenyi added: "The parties being set up have already announced they lay claim to state support, but we do not know whether they wish to receive money to the detriment of workers or the pensioners."

The action secretary said that the society does not wish to become a party even after the February 10-11 session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, for it stands on the same basis as the HSWP, even if in certain issues—mainly with respect to leadership work style—it makes critical observations. The society will continue to fight as a movement for the establishment of socialism based on Marxist ideological bases, and will take a stand against right-wing, bourgeois restoration efforts.

The Ferenc Munnich Society would like to attain with its activity that the masses who are followers of socialism, but who lost their confidence in the past 15 years, regain this belief. According to Mr Berenyi, the current problems rest on economic bases. The social debate that started from this does not further the cause as economic management is also forced to deal with daily politics. Yet only well-organized, economic production that produces surplus values could ensure the basis of existence for the masses.

The acting secretary also said the evaluation of 1956 is premature, in his view, as many of the participants of those events are still alive today. Mr Berenyi did, however, stress his view that the terming of 1956 unanimously as a popular uprising is the shaming of 1948, and said: The events began with protests with a bettering intention, but gradually led into a bloody counter-revolution.

The Ferenc Munnich Society, set up in November of 1988, now has more than 10,000 members. Local groups operate in almost all countries and many cities. About 65-70 percent of the society's members are members of the HSWP. The society has created close cooperation with the Federation of Hungarian Anti-fascists and Resistance Fighters, and seeks relations with other organizations, including the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT). The society will shortly discuss its operational statutes and will hold its founding session. Plans also include to set up a newspaper, Mr Berenyi said in the interview.

FIDESZ Spokesman on Workers' Representation

LD2402150989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] is planning an event for tomorrow entitled "Workers' Solidarity'89." Our staff member Miklos Attila Nemeth talks to FIDESZ representative Gyorgy Gyori:

[Nemeth] The FIDESZ members and representatives believe that the workers have been left out of the alternative groups.

[Gyori] The reason that the workers have been left out is precisely because the alternative organizations have not offered any solutions to the problems of workers that the workers might have expected.

[Nemeth] Do the workers believe, and were they forced to decide to do so, that they will have to represent their own interests themselves?

[Gyori] Yes. And I think there is a huge difference between a worker acting within a political organization and a worker joining an interest-representation trade union.

[Nemeth] So now you are thinking of the independent workers' trade union, the organization of which will be started at the weekend's conference entitled "Workers' Solidarity 89?"

[Gyori] Yes. At the conference we would like to set up a preparatory work group which would deal with organizing the local, regional (?interest-) protection groups, and the general assembly of these would be a trade union founding session.

[Nemeth] THE WORKER [Munkas] wishes to become the paper of the independent workers' trade union, which is to be formed after that. Mihaly Bottyan-Kiss (?is to be) its editor, and in the space above the paper's mastline there will be a quotation from [Hungarian poet] Attila Jozsef.

[Unidentified speaker] Lift up our hearts; they belong to those who uplift them.

Once again the so-called workers' power has fallen back to the level of struggle. In other words, if we now again formulate workers' power, then we have to add that the worker is again forced to struggle. We wait for the MSZMP to make this an issue of conscience.

[Nemeth] Who do you hope will attend this weekend conference entitled "Workers' Solidarity'89," and what themes will be raised there?

[Gyori] Who do we hope will come? Workers who want to defend themselves against the authorities' antisociety policy. As for the themes, we will talk about trade union issues, the presence of workers' self-managements and their right to exist in society, about taxes and wages; we will talk about unemployment, and about alternatives. We also hope that there will be a big debate on whether there is a need for a Hungarian independent workers' trade union, a trade union workers' federation, and if so, then in what form.

Four Members Expelled From Smallholders Party

LD2602021989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Four members have been expelled from the Independent Smallholders Party, which was formed just a few weeks ago. According to the communique, Ivan Baba, Istvan Jezso, Tibor Legradi, and Karoly Ravasz had recently been splitting the party [bomlasztotta a partot]. In many cases, they had disregarded the resolutions of the party president and the political committee, to whom they had acted and spoken contrarily. The party calls on the organizations affected to refrain from holding talks with the persons in question should they claim to represent the Smallholders Party.

New Workers Interest Organization Created

LD2602033489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] In Hungary, a new organization has been formed for the protection of workers' interests. According to the statement of the group known as the Solidarity Workers Trade Union Federation, a radical stand is necessary to ensure the interests of workers. However, the federation strives for the peaceful settlement of conflicts. In a letter to the premier, the new group has requested a significant decrease in state spending to prevent a further decline in the standard of living. The new workers federation, which was formed today at the Jurta Theatre, demands the cancellation of the Bos- Nagymaros construction project, the elimination of the Workers Guard, a radical decrease in defense spending, and the minimalization of state support for the MSZMP.

People's Party Official Holds News Conference

LD2702224689 Budapest MTI in English
2102 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—The organization of the Hungarian People's Party (HPP) has started in Budapest. Laszlo S. Hegedus, head of the organizing committee, told the press on Monday that HPP would seek to become a 'middle party', free from any extremity, and focus on the political representation of agrarian interests. The party would be open to individuals, economic organizations and cultural associations (people's colleges, reading circles, farmers' clubs), sharing its political objectives.

HPP considers itself the successor to the National Peasant Party and the Petofi Party of 1956. The party, whose predecessors used to have 57 papers in the country, is to publish again the "SZABAD SZO" (Free Word) weekly.

Oppositionist Vasarhelyi on MSZMP Line

PM2702163489 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
15 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with independent associations leader Miklos Vasarhelyi by Federico Argentieri, in Italy; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Argentieri] What is your opinion of the outcome of the Central Committee session?

[Vasarhelyi] It is interesting that the session produced much more than expected. Originally the Central Committee session was convened to clarify the disagreements over the assessment of 1956: On the one hand Pozsgay spoke in terms of a people's uprising, while on the other hand General Secretary Grosz stressed the old verdict that it was a counterrevolution. On this issue, which does not seem to have been at the center of the discussions, a positive compromise was reached, because it did not close the debate and left things open for the future. However, the real political change is the fact that the Central Committee voted unanimously for multiparty system.

[Argentieri] So is your assessment of both aspects positive?

[Vasarhelyi] Yes. Of course, for the time being there are only statements: We shall see how they are put into practice.

[Argentieri] Can it be said that Pozsgay's line on political reform—that is, the most radical line—was espoused by the leadership group?

[Vasarhelyi] Yes. It seems to me that Grosz and Pozsgay were there in tune with each other, in political agreement. It was a clear victory for those within the party who have always upheld progressive stands over the "hardliners" who refused to hear any mention of all these changes. Grosz was one of the first to take a stand, thus deciding the outcome of the contest.

[Argentieri] In the past 9 months since the organizational conference in May, the country has experienced some incredible changes. Fortunately, progress is also being made by detente and by Gorbachev's reforms, albeit amid difficulties and snares. Is the transition more secure now?

[Vasarhelyi] What is happening is partly a logical continuation of the process that began in May. What I mean is that it is not an unexpected swing, but it was prepared for: first by the laws on the rights of assembly and association introduced last month, by the new regulations on private enterprise and foreign capital, and by the press which, by changing radically, has altered the political climate in the country. In the preparatory period for this change of course, the struggle within the party became more acute. I believe that the victory of the reformers was due primarily to the fact that the party as a whole realized that their line is supported by the vast majority of the people.

[Argentieri] Can it be said then, that this is also the first step toward the MSZMP's transformation into a democratic party willing to compete with other political forces?

[Vasarhelyi] It would seem so. Of course, questions still remain about how these declarations of intent will be put into practice. For instance, how will the constituent assembly be composed? What will the new electoral law be like? What does the "socialist character" of the new constitution mean? These are all things that must be clarified in the near future. I am optimistic because, following this turning point, I do not believe that the party wants to discredit itself with ambiguous solutions. I believe that this step justifies my hope that the Hungarian party is willing to shoulder the historic responsibility for restoring democracy to the country.

[Argentieri] You mentioned a constituent assembly, but has it not already been decided that the present parliament will draw up the new draft constitution?

[Vasarhelyi] This is not yet clear, for the Central Committee's final document does not say. Part of the opposition wants a new constituent assembly to be formed, to work in parallel with the National Assembly; others, however, propose following the Polish example and organizing a roundtable to discuss all aspects of the transition. On the whole, however, the opposition also realizes that it must be patient and work responsibly and moderately.

[Argentieri] The new parties and those being reconstituted include the Social Democratic Party, whose secretary will apparently be Mihaly Bihari—one of the four intellectuals that Kadar expelled from the MSZMP last April. How do you view this party's prospects, and how do you explain this choice?

[Vasarhelyi] I believe it will be one of the essential forces of the new Hungarian left. The choice of Bihari is a very wise one: He is a well- educated and experienced man who was chosen partially because the survivors of the old generation are very elderly. [passage omitted]

Historical Study Again on Sale at Newsstands

LD2802043389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The special issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE is again available at newsstands. This issue contains the study of the history of the past 4 decades. As is known, the analysis was prepared by the historical subcommittee appointed by the MSZMP.

Inquiry Into Polish Traders Incident Concludes

LD0103032089 Budpaest MTI in English 2238 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—The inquiry has now ended into the February 3 incident in Varpalota, Hungary.

As reported, while carrying out a routine check on Polish tourists who were illegally trading in the marketplace, the police used truncheons, much to the indignation of onlookers.

At the press conference on the enquiry, Police Lieutenant-Colonel Antal Bartalus said that evidence strongly suggested an offence had been committed in the form of physical violence by public servants. The military prosecutor's office in Gyor would now be looking into the matter.

The lieutenant-colonel pointed out that foreigners are prohibited to trade on the market, and so the Poles were committing a criminal offence. Therefore, the crackdown in Varpalota was not against the law. The county police department does not approve, however, of the means the policemen used, and considers them unjustified and contrary to regulations.

The commander who launched the action and the policemen involved will now have to face the consequences.

Roundtable Team for Political Reforms Meets

Management of Press Discussed

LD0203063489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Excerpts] The roundtable deliberations are continuing. Today, the team for political reforms and the subteam for education, science, and technical progess were at work. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Professor Bronislaw Geremek, the cochairman from the opposition side of the team for political reforms.

[Geremek] Today we set three questions relating to the courts and judges, and we set four questions relating to the mass media. The result of the discussion so far is that only one question out of these seven has the chance of a reply, and this is the question relating to the new principles for management of the press. There is a positive element here, but a modest one for now. There is a possibility of restoring civil rights in access to the written word. This has (?supposedly), well generally this sounds like a formula. The point is simply this: to overcome this situation and (?change) all the written media. All the daily newspapers belong to one party and the coalition associated with it. We feel that there is a right to create not our daily, but an independent daily, such as would be objective in its news, objective in the formulation of public opinion.

[Correspondent] And the remaining questions, for instance the matter of the elections?

[Geremek] Both sides know that these elections should be nonconfrontational elections. On the other hand, how we will implement this will be the result of our discussions.

Government Side Views Debates

LD0203015289 Warsaw PAP in English 0014 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 1—The two sides understand that it is time now to generalize what has been discussed so far. Now there is time for taking decisions, Karol Szyndzielorz, representing the coalition-government side, said at a press conference while commenting on todays debates of the team for political reforms. He went on that on some issues concerning mass media convergent stances emerged, to mention the allocation of paper (now new principles of allocation and in 1-2 years time—free sale of paper), amendment of the press law and changes in censorship, the necessity to spell out forms of the opposition access to radio and television and the transformation of the illegal press publications into the officially approved one.

Professor Jerzy Wiatr informed the conference that as far as the reform of courts of law and the law is concerned, an agreement was reached spelling out the principles of minor amendment of the penal code, of making up for the wrong done to people when martial law was in force, and on the question of independence of judges. However, Wiatr admitted that the sides still have different views as to the party membership of judges. And as for the making up for the wrong done or the erasion of the entries in the register of convictions made during the martial law period the coalition-government side holds the view that this should be done in such a form which would not question the advisability of the introduction of martial law. Professor Wiatr is of the opinion that the opposition-Solidarity side is not pressing to disavow martial law.

Solidarity on Team, Debates

LD0203015189 Warsaw PAP in English 2351 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 1—The team for political reforms discussed the protocol of differences in subteams and working groups, spokesman for the Solidarity and independent groups at the roundtable Janusz Onyszkiewicz told journalists here today.

He added that Solidarity had been promised access in future to a mass of printing paper allowing the publication of a weekly, a mass-circulation daily and regional papers.

Adam Michnik and Zbigniew Bujak who were present at the press conference said that the Solidarity-opposition side came out with their own proposal of electoral law. Thus, the crux of the dispute now boils down to this sides veto against the institution of "verifier" empowered to strike off candidates nominated by the people, to the proposal of inserting in the election law the principle of distributing mandates (made by Solidarity and independent groups), and to the refusal of this side to participate in a common, nationwide, central list of candidates for deputies.

We agree to giving majority of mandates to the coalition-government side but on the condition that the rules of elections will be absolutely clear to the electorate, Michnik added. He informed the conference that his negotiating team had reached consensus on 3,000 to be the number os signatures supporting a candidate for deputy. The previous proposal of the coalition-government side was 5,000.

The sides also believe that the wrong done to individual opoposition activists under martial law should be made up for. Opinions still vary on the question of party membership of judges in the context of their independence.

The influence of party organisations on the educational process was questioned by a representative of the Solidarity and independent side in the team for science and education Henryk Samsonowicz. He stressed that the subteam agreed that 7 per cent of the distributed national income should go for education. However, they do not know how to get these funds.

Science, Education Subteam Holds Second Meeting

LD0103233389 Warsaw PAP in English
2225 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 1—The roundtable sub-team for science, education and technological progress met here today for its second session co-chaired by Jacek Fisiak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Jan Zaciura.

The sub-team acquainted itself with a report on the results of work by a team which had prepared draft arrangements concerning the proposals submitted by the participants in the debates. The convergence of stands concerns i.a. the necessity of increasing spendings on education as quickly as possible.

Next, Jacek Fisiak stated that from among many postulates aiming at improvement of the state of education, the ministry of national education granted priority to the socialization of the system of education, autonomy and self- management of schools. Nevertheless, the just idea of the school's socialization must be considered against the background of democratization of social relations in Poland.

Referring to the motion of the Solidarity-opposition side concerning the possibility of schools being founded by natural persons and citizens' associations, Jacek Fisiak presented a stand on this question as approved by the government's socio-political committee last February.

It envisages a possibility of running non-state-owned educational institutions under the supervision of educational authorities. "We are particularly interested in such privately run institutions as kindergartens. Yet, it is not advisable that the parents' financial situation should decide about the child's access to school. That is why we do not support the idea of private primary schools. Thus, the permission to run them will be granted only in exceptional cases," Fisiak stated.

Next, Fisiak took a stand on the Solidarity-opposition side's postulate suggesting that a principle should be adopted that political parties must not interfere in the contents of education and that ideological preferences should be excluded from textbooks and didactic practice. Authorized by the representatives of the PUWP taking part in the debate, Fisiak stated that being a part of the social left, the party will not give up efforts to make the process of state education take into account values represented by the left. These values include social justice, democracy, human and civic rights, freedom, patriotism and internationalism. The party reiterates its proposal, formed at its CC's 10th plenum, to work out together with all democratic forces, churches and religious unions, common goals of patriotic education of the young generation.

Remarks on Minister Fisiak's statement were presented by Henryk Samsonowicz who described the question of ideological neutrality as vital and added that education of youth should be conducted in the spirit of respect for human and civic rights and for the state's Constitution.

"As concerns the establishing of non-state-owned schools, it seems that educational institutions may be founded on the basis justified by law," Professor Samsonowicz stated. The debate decided to direct the discussed package of issues to the editing team which is to formulate a draft stand for the next session.

Next, the sub-team discussed issues concerning higher education and science. Janusz Ziolkowski pointed to the necessity of basic changes in this sector of education postulating to increase outlays on its development and to broaden the higher schools' self-governance.

Walesa, Kiszczak Meet To Discuss Roundtable

AU0203115189 Paris AFP in English
1131 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 2 (AFP)—Lech Walesa, leader of the banned trade union, Solidarity, met early Thursday with Polish Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak at a government villa near here to discuss opposition support for government reforms, informed sources said.

In their first face-to-face meeting since "roundtable" government-opposition talks began at Radziwill Palace on February 6, Mr Walesa, heading the opposition delegation, and Gen Kiszczak, leading the government team, were expected to "untangle" a number of other issues holding up the talks, the sources said.

These included Solidarity demands for the dissolution of Poland's "nomenklatura", the corps of officials who hold key posts in the state administration; the trade union's wish to broadcast its programme in the state-controlled broadcasting media; government opposition to the removal of some clauses in the penal code; and Solidarity's call for the indexing of salaries.

Mr Walesa said on Wednesday he was confident that the "roundtable" talks, now in their fourth week, would result in the legalisation of Solidarity, Rural Solidarity and the Independent Association of Students (NZS).

However, the Polish authorities have made it clear that these associations will only be legalised if Solidarity pledges its support to government economic and political reforms.

At a meeting of some 3,000 students at Warsaw University Wednesday, Mr. Walesa said he was "satisfied" with the progress made so far in the round-table talks.

Concluding a tour of several industrial cities, including Nowa Huta, Szczecin, Lodz and Wroclaw, where he addressed workers on the issues involved in the talks, Mr Walesa said that Poles had to remain calm until the outcome of the talks were known.

"We have waited 40 years for a free Poland. We can wait another three weeks", he said.

Spanish Daily Queries Adam Michnik on Roundtable

PM2802162489 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA
in Spanish 9 Feb 89 p 12

[Interview with Polish dissident historian Adam Michnik by Ricardo Estarriol in Warsaw; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Estarriol] What proposals will Solidarity put forward at the roundtable?

[Michnik] To put it simply, there are two proposals. In the first place, we want the legalization of Solidarity. But it is not enough to say this, because Poland is undergoing a profound economic, social, political, and moral crisis, whose resolution must be sought in a de-Stalinization program. In other words, an "anticrisis pact" is needed; a kind of new social agreement and a simultaneous understanding on the de-Stalinization program. The legalization of Solidarity should be a starting point for a whole complex de-Stalinization process.

Different Matters

[Estarriol] Can it be said that the stances of the two sides [government and opposition] have drawn closer, insofar as both acknowledge that changes are necessary? What is the minimum program of these changes, and what could be the rate of their implementation?

[Michnik] The minimum program and the rate are two different matters. When we talk about the essential minimum, it must be realized what the starting point is. We are starting from a system which is totalitarian, while we wish to approach a system based on the principle of civil society, whose foundation must be the law. There is talk of the same thing in the USSR, in Yugoslavia, in the PRC, in Hungary, and in other countries.

[Estarriol] So what is Poland's distinctive feature?

[Michnik] Poland is the only country in which there really is an independent interlocutor: It is a mass movement with roots in the factories, in the scientific institutes, in higher education, and in the countryside. And the government must seek a compromise solution with this movement. Now, for the first time, something has changed.

[Estarriol] But how radical is this change?

[Michnik] In any event, it is an onerous change for the authorities, because the regime's identity is at stake. The whole government apparatus—trained for years in an atmosphere of hatred of Solidarity and convinced that Walesa was a cross between an utter fool and a U.S. spy—must suddenly sit down at a table with this selfsame Walesa, who is now regarded as a respectable and strong interlocutor who has shown his strength. But I would not be frank if I failed to mention that the same problem creates a conflict in the opposition camp.

[Estarriol] What conflict?

[Michnik] That which raises the following questions: How can it be right to come to terms with the Communists after 13 December 1981? Right here in Poland where they have proved to be perfidious interlocutors? But it is necessary to come to terms. Am I a naive person who has forgotten the past—what happened on the night of 12-13 December, when the doors of our homes were battered down? Or have I forgotten the Wujek mine (where the police killed several miners)? Or do I no longer remember Grzegorz Przemyk (a schoolboy killed at a police station) and Reverend Popieluszko? Well, no: I remember very well. But I believe that both the international situation and the domestic situation have changed so much that we have a duty to try again, while of course maintaining our distrust.

[Estarriol] But what has really changed?

[Michnik] To put it simply, the past 7 years have shown that it is not possible to surmount the economic crisis by means of military communism. And the second factor is the international factor. Everything that has happened in Russia [Michnik always says "Russia," not "the Soviet Union"] in the past few years has shown that the Polish crisis was not a "Polish" crisis but a crisis of the Soviet model. Now the totalitarian order must become an order of civil society.

[Estarriol] In other words, evolution instead of revolution?

[Michnik] I believe that this must be an evolutionary process, because I do not believe that a second revolution can be carried out in a country which has not yet managed to recover from the first. And since I do not believe in historical determinism, I believe that this evolution must be the outcome of a contract accepted by both sides.

[Estarriol] So are you convinced that the other side wants such a contract?

[Michnik] No, not convinced. On the contrary, everything seems to make a wary stance advisable. The only reason for attempting dialogue is that there is no other way for Poland. Both sides [government and opposition] are strong enough to block each other, but not strong enough to eliminate each other. This has led the country to a situation of degradation. Solidarity has a duty to make a gamble, even if it is with just a 5 percent chance of success. I believe that, following the Central Committee resolutions [which recommended dialogue to the Communist Party], this stance is legitimate. In this connection, Walesa said that the Central Committee's proposal of dialogue "is too much for us to die but too little for us to live."

Realistic Social Order

[Estarriol] The authorities hope that the opposition will support the economic reforms, which will entail a stage of austerity. It could happen that the people will disobey both the government and Solidarity. Would the trade union be able to prevent this?

[Michnik] That is a question for prophets. I am a historian.

[Estarriol] Yes, but time is passing...

[Michnik] In my opinion, the two sides must prevent such a situation from arising by creating a social order with realism, which will make it possible to resolve conflicts without strikes or violence.

[Estarriol] The regime's representative at the roundtable has called for "parliamentary elections without confrontations." How do you interpret this?

[Michnik] It is quite simple: Elections with confrontation would mean a power struggle with the propaganda media in order to humiliate your opponent. "Without confrontation," on the other hand, means continuity of power in Poland [that is, leaving the power centers in the Communist Party's hands] and simultaneously beginning a process of democratic evolution. We do not wish to be given even a single seat by the nomenklatura. We do not wish to share privileges. So far there have been no elections in Poland—just "polls" or plebiscites. What we propose is a genuine election—at least, for a certain section of parliament. And we have no precedents for this. If you like, we are hoping without hope. But there are certain analogies, such as in Spain or in the Philippines.

[Estarriol] But what are you going to elect? A constituent assembly to prepare genuinely free elections? Or a regular Sejm with a 4-year legislative term?

[Michnik] This is what we are going to discuss at the roundtable. Each of us has an impassable wall. For the government, it is not quitting power. The regime will not negotiate handing over power. For instance, if Solidarity demanded one-third of the posts in the security services, the government would be opposed. And we also have our impassable wall: It is obvious that we will not renounce the legalization of Solidarity...

[Estarriol] What about the elections?

[Michnik] For us a joint slate with a joint election platform is absolutely unacceptable, but all the rest is open to negotiation. I can imagine some 60 percent of the deputies emerging from an official slate while the opposition attempts to fill the remaining seats. In that event, 40 percent of the opposition [as published] should be filled through free competition, and a Solidarity candidate neither could nor should fear the competition of other candidates from the Confederation for Independent Poland [nationalist movement] or the PPS [Polish Socialist Party]. I would never accept such a thing. In any event, I am in no position to tell you what the legislative body will be like: We have some fixed points and a strategy, but I will not describe it to you here; I will use it at the negotiating table.

[Estarriol] And what, in your opinion, should be the rate of change?

[Michnik] I do not have much desire to talk about this, either. In any event, elections are out of the question unless Solidarity is previously legalized. If the regime has problems with its rank and file [who fear that Solidarity wishes to organize a Saint Bartholomew's Eve for them], Walesa also has problems with his members, who fear that the regime will present them with martial law again.

Dose of Self-Persuasion

[Estarriol] How do you now view the past 20 years of your life? The Communists imprisoned you for the first time in 1965. Now you are negotiating with those who jailed you. What are your feelings?

[Michnik] Why do you not ask my interlocutors the same question? Why do you not ask them how they feel in sitting down at a table with a man whom they recently wished to exile? I believe that they must not feel very good. But there are other values, over and above feelings of pleasure or pain. They believe that they were right to detain me. I believe that I was right when—while I was in my cell—I refused to leave Poland. But I cannot say. Whatever the agreement reached after what we might call a "cold civil war," it will be a difficult agreement, which will require a heavy dose of self-persuasion and self-criticism. I believe that Walesa is right to repeat General Jaruzelski's remark that "you cannot move forward with your head turned around."

[Estarriol] Do you personally feel capable of this?

[Michnik] Look: If I succeed in speaking at the roundtable, overlooking these things, I believe that I will be able to make my modest contribution to the agreement.

[Estarriol] Gorbachev is now saying things which, a few years ago, were grounds for prosecution...

[Michnik] This is true, but allow me to make a certain mental reservation: Those who win are in danger of falling prey to the "intoxication of success." Let us be modest and respect our opponents for the change which is taking place among them. I believe that the most recent changes have cost Gen Jaruzelski and General Kiszczak more than they have cost me. And I respect the fact that public personalities are able to correct their past mistakes.

[Estarriol] What is your opinion of Gen Jaruzelski?

[Michnik] Although it may surprise you, I will tell you that I respect him for this very reason. And I say this with a very clear conscience, because in the past I have not spared him hard and bitter words. We are miles apart, but I respect his evolution. [passage omitted]

Walesa Appeals to Warsaw University Students
LD0103191389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Lech Walesa has had a meeting with students at Warsaw University. Addressing the gathering, he said, among other things:

[Begin Walesa recording] We have to tell each other everything and only when we have come to an agreement, go (?consciously) toward the goal of appealing to save the country and catching up with Europe. I urge and request you: give to us, to those people who are talking at the roundtable, give Poland [your] intelligence; give it, because I and all of us need it; give Poland the doubts as well, then we will really make a (?second) Poland, the Poland we want to make.

You have also heard that I said 6 months ago or so, that if Poland does not get on to the road of reforms, then I, Lech Walesa, will announce other forms of determined struggle, because I regret every broken pane of glass in Poland, every curbstone torn up on Poland, regardless of who did it, because everything that constititutes Poland is ours. [end recording]

Addressing the NZS [Independent Student Association] representative from Krakow, Lech Walesa said: I believe in your intelligence. Show that you are intelligent.

Further on Walesa Meeting
LD0203004589 Warsaw PAP in English 0002 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 1—Lech Walesa met with students of Warsaw higher schools at Warsaw University's Auditorium Maximum today.

As a roundtable participant Walesa described the talks as a chance to break the economic, union, and political monopoly and to replace it with pluralistic solutions. He appealed for patience. "Strikes are no solution here. We need responsibility, democracy, and freedom," he said.

Asked to comment on the recent events in Krakow, Walesa replied that when he was joining the roundtable he said no table can stand on fewer than three legs meaning Solidarity, NZS, [Independent Association of University Students] and Solidarity of farmers. But it would be bad if they tripped each other up, said he.

Answering the questions about Sejm elections Walesa said, among other things: "I have no arguments (in favour of) a boycott as long as certain conditions are met. I think, we should go to the polls not as union representatives but as private persons. We must use the existing possibilities and expand them by way of evolution.

Walesa Fields Journalists' Questions in Gdansk
AU0103135389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 6

[Zbigniew Wrobel report: "The Fighting Is Pushing Us Into the Corner"]

[Text] Trade union pluralism in Poland, the "roundtable" talks, and "Solidarity's" program and organization after its eventual legalization were the main subjects of questions from Polish and foreign journalists at Lech Walesa's 23 February press conference at the parish hall of St. Brygida's Church in Gdansk.

Referring to statements, which he made at earlier press conferences, L. Walesa once again praised the democratic changes occurring in Poland. "I must admit that the authorities are so wide open to real democracy that we are not prepared to act under these conditions. We must not fail to notice and appreciate this. I must tell you the truth. The authorities are saying 'please come in,' and asking what other doors should be opened and what other issues resolved. We are often unable to take advantage of these possibilities."

Asked what kind of future trade union movement he imagines in Poland, L. Walesa replied: "For the sake of our professional, factory, social, and family interests, all trade unionists must come to terms with each other. I admit that right now, trade union ambitions are causing a lot of trouble. After the present transitional period, I would like there to be several trade unions in one place, if that is what the work force wants. These trade unions should be strong. There should be competition between them, not confrontation and mutual annihilation. I would not want everyone to rush to join 'Solidarity,' because once again there would be a trade union monopoly. After its legalization, I do not think 'Solidarity' will be able to assume the shape it had in 1980 and 1981. People have changed. Many have left the country. Many others have abandoned trade union activity altogether, and others still have joined the new trade unions. In any case, there will certainly not be 10 million of us any more."

Asked about the recurring illegal demonstrations in various cities staged by young people, mainly students, L. Walesa condemned in strong terms those who were taking part in them. "If there are only 6 weeks of talks that are of vital importance for Poland, then let these talks take place in a clean atmosphere," he said. "If the talks reach a deadlock because of this irresponsible activity, who will carry the blame? Young people, especially students, you are the intellectual cadres of Poland's future, so you understand that important events are taking place. During this time, it is necessary to keep oneself under control. After all, you are represented at the talks. Anyone who wants to can present his arguments there. What is the point if some talk and others throw stones? The road you are taking leads nowhere."

Further on, L. Walesa discussed his meetings with workers in many factories in Poland. He said that at these meetings, he tried to support the political and economic reforms. "That is why I tell people: Let us not destroy Poland by strikes. There is no alternative to reforms in our country. Fighting only pushes us into the loser's corner. We are interested in democracy and proper elections. I hope these elections will lead us to greater democracy. As a trade union, we should be apolitical."

Demonstration Follows Walesa Visit to Szczecin

LD0103171789 Warsaw PAP in English
1553 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Szczecin, March 1—A noisy demonstration attended by a thousand-so people was held here in the evening on Tuesday following mass held at the cathedral basilica to mark Lech Walesa's visit to the city.

Despite Walesa's earlier appeals for calm, the participants in the demonstration disturbed traffic, chanted "Down with the Communists", "Russians go home" and the like. The militia moved in, restoring order.

The press spokesman for the local Office of Internal Affairs delivered a statement reading in part that the authorities had granted permission for participants in the meeting with Walesa to march from the port to the basilica and that this march proceeded peacefully, without public order disturbances. On the other hand, the throng which formed following the mass marched through the streets of Szczecin without permission. The statement notes that the militia did not apply direct coercion while dispersing the demonstration.

Activists Stage Brief Demonstration in Katowice

LD0103171389 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1615 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] A group of activists of the illegal KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] attempted to organize a demonstration today in the center of Katowice at 1500 [1400 GMT]. Their calls attracted several dozen people, mainly teenagers and passers-by. The KPN speaker said that the demonstration was caused by the lack of opportunity for independent parties to register eviction from an apartment, and a decision of the misdemeanor court to seize a car. After listening to the 15-minute speech, the group dispersed.

Democratic Party Concerned About Student Riots

LD0103024989 Warsaw PAP in English
0105 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 28—The Democratic Party [DP] CC's Presidium assessed today the to-date course of the roundtable, the debates of its teams and working subteams in which the DP representatives actively participate.

The Presidium expressed a serious concern over the course of students riots in Krakow and their influence both on the political atmosphere in Poland and on Poland's relations with abroad, particularly with the Soviet Union. The Democratic Party has already twice forwarded a public appeal for giving up, at least for the period of the roundtable talks, all protest actions, especially strikes and other forms of pressure on the Warsaw debates.

"Alas, the forces hostile to the reforms of the state and economy are doing everything to disturb the Polish-Polish dialogue of agreement and democracy. Clearly, the matter is to make the roundtable fail to fulfil the hopes pinned on it by both the majority of Poland's society and and almost entire public opinion of the world. The Democratic Party considers attempts at playing the anti-Soviet card to be paricularly worth condemnation as they strike at the Polish national interests. Such activities should be resolutely and commonly resisted.

"Regardless of the intentions by which they were driven, the organisers of students riots and other demonstrations violating the peace and order in Poland made a considerable harm to all reformatory forces wishing as quickly and effectively as possible to settle these Polish issues and problems which we all jointly deemed the most significant ones. The Democratic Party's response will be an intensification of efforts to make the roundtable debates bring about commonly awaited consensus," the statement concludes.

Internal Affairs Statement on Demonstrations

LD0103163989 Szczecin Domestic Service
in Polish 0500 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Statement issued by the press spokesman of the head of the voivodship office of internal affairs in Szczecin; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Citizens Jozef Kowalczyk, Piotr Jania, and Edward Radziewicz submitted a request on 20 February 1989 to the socioadministrative department of the municipal office in Szczecin for a permission to conduct a festive procession on 28 February between 1730 and 1800 from the premises of the Harbor Board building of Szczecin-Swinoujscie to the cathedral in Szczecin by a group of persons taking part in a meeting with Lech Walesa.

They received such permission and the rules of the procession were agreed upon. The procession was legal. During its course no incidents or breaches of public order were noted, although the organizers did not prevent provocative slogans being displayed. When the mass in the cathedral ended a crowd formed and moved along the streets of the city without permission. A considerable number of people in the crowd behaved in an aggressive manner and interfered with the traffic. Despite the provocative behavior, the forces of law and order did not intervene, limiting themselves only to appeals to the crowd to disperse and remain calm.

Irrespective of this, a group of unruly youths armed with stones did not heed these appeals. A blockade was set up and they were firmly ordered to disperse. Civic militia units in close ranks came into action and this resulted in the crowd dispersing. The militia did not use any direct force which may be used in such a situation. One should emphasize that this was another case of using a church gathering for a subsequent breach of the peace and of public order in Szczecin. Becuase of the young age of those taking part in that incident we appeal to parents, teachers, and all people taking care of the young to exercise greater supervision of their children and of those in their care. We warn that excesses of this kind will not be tolerated.

Signed by Second Lieutenant Krzysztof Zyndul.

Spokesman Rebuts Allegations of Militia Brutality

LD0103192789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] [Presenter] Our studio guest today is Major Wojciech Garstka, Ministry of Internal Affairs press spokesman.

[Garstka] In respect of the various accusations of alleged incidents of brutality by the militia, I declare them to be untrue. On 13 February, in Krakow, the militia, in ordinary uniform, blocked some directions of crowd dispersal and removed from the thoroughfare those people who were sitting in it trying to obstruct traffic. The date 17 February became a pretext for escalating tension. On 24 February, an attack was made on an unarmed [bezbronny] cordon of militiamen in ordinary uniforms. This made it necessary to intervene with the use of force. This situation caused the crowd to become aggressive. Its scale and degree is demonstrated by the fact that 72 militiamen were injured.

The militia has a legal duty to disperse illegal public assemblies. The forces of law and order in Krakow and other places have many times shown a very flexible reaction in such cases. The point is to ensure the maximum calm with the lowest social cost.

The militia officers are also accused of throwing stones. We ask the accusers to provide proof of their accusations. That proof will be very thoroughly checked out, and the guilty—if there are any—will be punished. If it should turn out to be untrue, my question is: Where do these accusations come from, particularly today? I would like to say that the Militia will make every effort to continue to react flexibly and with professional calm and restraint to breaches of the peace. Thank you.

Katyn Massacre Incident Receives More Publicity

War Veteran Recalls Experience

LD0103131589 Warsaw PAP in English 1203 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—Lawyer Jozef Kokoszka, a war veteran and a present activist of the Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party in Katowice, has told the DZIENNIK LUDOWY daily how in September 1939 he avoided being taken on the route to Katyn. Here are excerpts of his tale:

"General Langer who was a commander of the corps District in Lvov ordered an assembly of officers and noncommissioned officers at the Bernardynski Square in Lvov. Also police officers and noncoms were summoned. Tens of thousands of them gathered in the square. The general thanked for participation in the fighting and so on. He spoke of fulfilment of soldiers' duty of honour. Next to him stood an NKVD (Soviet National Commissariat of Internal Affairs) colonel. Meanwhile, tanks were surrounding the square.

"They were arranged in fours and ordered to march eastwards. Right behind the Lyczakowska toll-gate all police officers were shot down and the rest were divided into officers and noncommissioned officers and pushed into captivity. And most of those officers landed in Katyn. Such was the recruitment to Katyn if one may put it this way.

"I was in the company of Professor Walaszek. I said to him: 'Bronek, I guess they have not summoned us to this square in order to give us medals. Let us go there in civilian clothes.' And that's what we did. We had uniforms hidden under civilian coats and when we saw the tanks and the formation of fours, I and Bronislaw Walaszek started to withdraw slowly. They did not accost civilians. In that way we did not follow the Katyn route...

"It happened on September 22 or 23, 1939. Thus, the surroundings were cleared from a dangerous element, being Polish officers in such a considerable number. And the officers were disciplined. There was a general's order, so they reported at the square, for the last time..."

Daily Comments on Katyn Documents

AU0103145189 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY (HISTORIA I ZYCIE supplement) in Polish 24 Feb 89

[Article by Wladyslaw Tybura: "The Katyn Documents"]

[Text] The issue of the atrocity committed against Polish officers at Katyn has reached a point at which the documents that our historians possess are being published. The weekly ODRODZENIE published an extensive, previously unknown "confidential report" prepared during the occupation by Kazimierz Skarzynski, the general secretary of the Polish Red Cross, and based on the work carried out at the site of the crime in April 1943 by a commission set up by the organization. Today we are publishing a somewhat earlier report from Katyn, that of Edmund Seyfried, the director general of the Main Welfare Council, another organization that operated legally in the so-called Generalgouvernement [German-occupied Poland].

This is the first time that documents produced by Poles have been published in Poland, indeed it is probably the first time that they have been published anywhere. The Poles who produced the reports visited the scene of the crime immediately after the Katyn mass graves were discovered and they took part in the exhumation work. The publication of these documents goes a very great way toward explaining the full truth about the Katyn massacre. More can be added to this by documents from Soviet archives, if such documents exist today.

The Katyn massacre question, which is particularly painful for the Poles, has a 46-year-old history. Conditions that would facilitate a public and fully objective examination of the question have not existed for almost half a century. When the crime was uncovered, the German Army was at Katyn. All the commissions, including both the Polish commissions and those on which Poles were represented, familiarized themselves with the facts under the watchful eye of the Germans, who clearly sought to pressurize them into establishing facts that could be used for anti-Soviet mass propaganda. The Poles were faced with a great dilemma. The facts seemed to indicate that perpetrators of the crime were Soviet, but at the time the Soviet Army was fighting the Germans, who were pursuing a policy of extermination with respect to the Polish people. It is worth adding that the Ghetto Uprising took place at this time. In light of this situation, the Poles did not intend to serve the German propaganda cause. The fact that neither of the two documents indicates who the perpetrators were directly is surely not only a sign of a reluctance to form hasty conclusions, but also of a fear that a completely clearcut position would strengthen the Germans. This was a unique kind of dilemma, of the sort that can surely only arise in Polish history.

So, following the tragic discoveries in April 1943, it was impossible to examine the issue publicly in Poland. The great failing of the commission that was established by the Soviet side to examine the issue was its bias, which is evidenced by the fact that it did not include any Poles, although the Poles had already proved themselves as allies in battle. The document that the commission issued in January 1944 upheld the version according to which the perpetrators of the crime were the Germans. Today we know only too well that one could not have expected anything else. A document produced under the circumstances that existed at that time and in view of the state of Polish-Soviet relations then and later did not make it possible to establish the objective truth. Besides, this applies not only to this particularly tragic affair.

However, the murders committed at Katyn have not been forgotten by Polish society. Memoirs published in the West, and the numerous pieces of information that were scattered about, including those stemming from letters that suddenly stopped at precisely the same time, April 1940, gave rise to what was admittedly the unofficial Polish version, but the one that has persisted in the Polish mind. The heinous murder of thousands of officers and soldiers at one place and at one point in time was too shocking and produced too much pain in the Polish psyche for it not to be remembered and arouse strong emotions. It also demanded a public explanation.

This has only become possible in a situation in which the honest treatment of Stalinist crimes has become a fundamental policy element on the part of a new Soviet leadership. The establishment of a joint commission of historians as a result of the Gorbachev-Jaruzelski declaration was synonymous with breaking with the Stalinist version of the Katyn atrocity and has opened the way for establishing the real truth. The second act of the Katyn tragedy—establishing all the attendant circumstances—seems to be nearing its end.

The truth was shocking when it reached the Poles in 1943 and has remained a source of pain to this day. The inability to investigate the crime and indicate the perpetrators publicly also represents an equally painful moral burden, and weighs heavily and tangibly on international relations.

Massacre Evidence Viewed

AU0103123889 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24-26 Feb 89 pp 3-5, 11

[Article by Jerzy Slaski: "The Katyn Massacre"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] On 27 April [1943] a Polish Red Cross Technical Commission left for Katyn. It was headed by Dr Marian Wodzinski, a specialist in forensic medicine from Krakow, and had nine members, most of whom were prosectors. Dr Wodzinski and almost all the members of the group were Home Army soldiers who had taken the military oath. The commission spent 5 weeks working at Katyn, until 3 June 1943.

During the first few days of the visit to Katyn, a commission made up of specialists in forensic medicine from states that were neutral or allied with the Germans was also there. The commission, which included outstanding scholars among its members, spent 3 days working at the site.

The exhumations were stopped before they had almost been completed on account of a spell of very hot weather and, above all, because the front had moved closer to Katyn. This was on 7 June, the day on which the last grave was sealed. The Germans issued an extensive communique 3 days later, and in August 1943 they published a detailed report entitled "Official Document on the Katyn Massacre" [German title used].

The content of the report essentially accords with what the members of both the Polish Red Cross Technical Commission and the international commission set up by the Germans had seen and established during the course of their work at Katyn.

Eight mass graves were discovered close to a NKVD vacation home. There were pine and birch trees that were several years old growing on them. The experts concluded that the trees had been planted there 3 years ago. The graves contained rows of bodies that were 10 to 12 deep. The corpses had become stuck to one another to such an extent that hooks had to be used to pry them apart. The victims wore Polish army officers' uniforms and coats. The cause of death was a shot delivered to the occiput or back of the neck from a small arms weapon fired at close range. The murderers had used German Genschow 7.65 calibre ammunition, which the Germans had exported to the USSR, Poland, and the Baltic states in large quantities during the 1930's. Some of the victims' skulls contained more than one bullet hole. In many cases, it was possible to ascertain signs of injuries caused by blows with cruciform-shaped bayonets. Many of the victims, especially younger ones, had had their hands tied together, and some of them had had coats tied over their heads.

All those who examined the bodies stated—and they did so independently of one another—that they had lain in the ground for at least 3 years. The main evidence for this was provided by substances found in the skulls of the victims. Further proof was provided by the victims' possessions. They included a great number of Soviet newspapers, letters, diaries, and notebooks. About 3,200 documents were found in addition to newspapers. Most of the dates that were visible on them related to April 1940. The latest date was 6 May 1940. Several dozen diaries were found in which entries had been kept on a regular basis. Some of them literally contained entries that went up to the last moment, because they mentioned the arrival at Gnezdovo railway station. [passage omitted]

Following Nuremberg, a silence descended on the subject, but not in the West. There, especially after relations with the USSR soured, Katyn was widely discussed. The issue was, among other things, examined by the U.S. House of Representatives from September 1951 to December 1952. A bibliography of items published on Katyn in the West runs to at least several dozen titles.

However, a silence descended on the subject in the fatherland of the victims of Katyn and the prisoners at Starobelsk and Ostashkovo who shared their fate. A book entitled "The Truth About Katyn," written by Boleslaw Wojcicki, who was a ZYCIE WARSZAWY journalist, was published on two occasions, in 1952 and in 1953, by the "Czytelnik" publishing house. It repeated the position of the Soviet commission and was essentially a total indictment of "American imperialism." After that, not even books of this kind were published. It is true that the 1959 edition of the Popular Encyclopedia contained the following entry: "KATYN. Place in Smolensk region of the RFSSR, site of mass graves of several thousand Polish officers interned in the USSR in 1939 and murdered by the Nazis after they occupied the area." However, the entry was removed from later editions of the encyclopedia.

The entry disappeared, but the explanation that it contained was the one that was in force in the PPR for more than 40 years.

The issue has been raised once again relatively recently. A commission composed of Polish and Soviet historians has undertaken a detailed examination of it. At this stage, we do not know what the results of the commission's findings are.

Rakowski Opens Voivods Conference 1 March

LD0203012289 Warsaw PAP in English
0058 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 1—A conference of voivods discussing the current social and political situation in Poland was opened by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski here today.

The hitherto proceedings of the roundtable were presented by chairman of the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers, Aleksander Kwasniewski and Secretary of State in the Finance Ministry Wincenty Lewandowski. Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Lucjan Czubinski discussed the state of security and public order. He described the situation in Poland as unstable. The present situation clearly aggravated in the Middle of last year but it could be even more destabilised, Czubinski stressed, without the change of Cabinet last September and without many bold and reformatory moves by the new government.

Although the roundtable continues to be the main topic of discussion in all milieux, the interest in it has declined in recent days. Quick agreement on economic measures is especially awaited. On this backdrop and on the backdrop of the objectively difficult market situation pressure on wages increases.

Worker circles are disappointed with poor organisation, stammering coproduction, squander, poor management, and with the administrations sluggishness in solving urgent problems. This invites activisation of the political opponent and aggravates pay conflicts.

The ministry's data show that from the beginning of this year there were 1,250 pay conflicts and 268 work stoppages. The vice-minister observed that their number shrank after February 16, the apex of 130 conflicts.

Another major factor destabilising the internal situation is an evident animation and intensification of anti-state acts by extreme opposition groups. Practically every recent day there were attempts to organise rallies, demonstrations, and other illegal manifestations.

Drawing conclusions from the analysis of the situation Czubinski said that the activities of economic administration which lead to a possibly quick quelling of conflicts, often at the cost of financial risk, threaten with a big number of bankruptcies in future. He also stressed the need for a consistent implementation of the decisions of the Council of Ministers aimed to ensure peace and order in Poland.

The current issues related to the functioning of economy were presented by Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula. The process of building the legal basis for the new economic order is underway. It has been created recently by such laws as the law on economic activity, economic activity with the participation of foreign capital, a package of financial laws and the law on financial system of an enterprise.

The full, model shape of the new order will be attained after passing the following laws: on municipal property, on bonds and on general tax on private incomes of population.

Ireneusz Sekula also reviewed certain aspects of the strike situation. Strikes and protest actions stay within labour establishments—the government is not a side in negotiations. So far no enterprise has received support from the centre in the form of tax allowances or subsidies to wage increases. The government upholds here the will of consistently applying and fixing the systemic economic principles.

In the discussion the voivods presented social and economic situation in their regions, took a stance on the course of the roundtable debates, informed the meeting about activities which they undertake on the part of the administration on the voivodship level.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski summed up the conference. He said that in the process of model changes taking place in Poland the state administration of all levels plays an unusually important role. Without its courageous, efficient and dynamic work the idea of strong state, so needed by Poland, is an empty word.

We are still far from reaching a satisfactory situation that would meet the interests of the nation, the prime minister said. Law is frequently bypassed and breached, virtually violated. The authorities of various levels, from top to the base are not innocent either. Our gravest weakness in this field is clumsiness and indecision in executing the law. This fact invites anarchistic and adventurist elements to action that often causes criminal violation of public peace and order. "I obligate the voivods and offices of internal affairs to decisively counteract any brawls and adventures. Amateurs of adventures during which stones are reached for and public property is destroyed should be reminded of the existence of principles obligatory in the civilised world.

"We must use the maximum of the existing law to consolidate the conviction among people that the rythm of life in Poland will not be dictated by adventurers from under the banner of KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and other banners. Brawls and adventures in the streets of our towns are a major threat to the so needed renewal all the fields of our social and economic life," he said.

"The building of a new social, economic and political order is taking place in very complicated conditions. The resistance of the old is still strong. It is obvious that in a constant fight of the new world with the old one, one cannot exclude deliberate sabotage of the programme of reforms. In the times of such great transformations, not to say upheavals, the resistance to changes may have very difference causes. For sure, there are people in Poland who consider the reform line as a heresy. There are also such people who want to use reforms to bury socialism.

"Speeding up the pace of changes is possible provided that the managing teams of all levels concentrate their entire energy on stirring up social activity. I explain that we want first of all to gain support for reforms of those citizens who are already operating in social structures—peoples councils, employees self-management and in cooperatives self-management.

"The employees self-management can and should play a particularly significant role in strengthening the ranks of economic reform supporters. It is and should be our most important ally in the process of reforming the economy. I am talking about it in relation to the discussion on the draft law on certain conditions of national economy consolidation and on amendments to some laws which were submitted to the Sejm (parliament). People representing the opposition in the roundtable team for economy and social policy energetically protested against our legislative initiative seeing in the proposed bill a blood-thirsty wish on the part of Rakowski's government to strangle the employees self-management. It is astounding that serious people so easily resort to demagogy.

"The employees self-management is a lasting structure in our economy under reform," concluded Premier Rakowski.

CSSR's Lenart Arrives on Official Working Visit

Received by Jaruzelski

LD0103225789 Prague CTK in English
1959 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw March 1 (CTK correspondent)—First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart.

The Czechoslovak party official, who paid a working visit to Poland today at the invitation of the Polish party Central Committee, met with Politburo member and secretary of the Polish party Central Committee Wladyslaw Baka.

Representatives of the two fraternal parties spoke in favour of the further extension of economic cooperation between the two countries. They paid great attention to the political aspects of improving the economic mechanisms of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in the spirit of economic reforms in individual CMEA member states. CMEA should to a greater extent than to date stimulate and facilitate the development of effective economic cooperation between CMEA member states and more effectively influence acceleration of the socialist integration, the officials agreed.

Jozef Lenart ended his visit to Poland in the evening and left Warsaw for Berlin.

Leaders Discuss Cooperation

LD0103230189 Warsaw PAP in English
2009 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Presidium member, secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Jozef Lenart who is paying a one-day working visit to this country.

The two discussed the multilateral cooperation of the CMEA countries and the ways to adjust this organization to better meet needs and requirements of the modern times. They also exchanged ideas on the current sociopolitical situation in Poland and Czechoslovakia and discussed further development of cooperation between both countries.

The meeting was attended by Political Bureau member, PUWP CC secretary Wladyslaw Baka and head of the foreign department of the PUWP Central Committee Ernest Kucza.

Wladyslaw Baka and Jozef Lenart exchanged ideas on the ways of reforming of the structures and mechanisms of the CMEA. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia are for a more effective influence which should be exerted by the CMEA on the acceleration of the socialist integration of the CMEA member countries.

The talks, which displayed considerable convergence of viewpoints on the discussed issues, are to be continued on a bi and multilateral levels.

Lenart visited also TV Ube producing works "polkolor" in Piaseczno outside Warsaw.

Commentary Views CEMA, Economic Integration

AU1902193989 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish
8 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Jan W. Gadomski: "Stalin's Children"]

[Text] The birth of CEMA did not occur at a good time: January, 1949. Outside the socialist camp the cold war was being intensified, inside it, Stalinist rule by diktat was being strengthened. The year was marked by the trial and execution of Rajk, a rising wave of terror within the socialist camp, and the political demise of Gomulka in Poland. There is no need for laborious historical research to know whose instrument CEMA was meant to be and what goals it was meant to serve.

To Stalin any form of agreement or cooperation between the young socialist states seemed to smack of conspiracy. He consistently applied the principle of "divide and rule." All cooperation was to go through Moscow, through which all the strings for the government of the newly created empire were to pass. The coordination of plans for the next few years—that is perfectly all right. How about integration?—that is out of the question! This is because integration precludes the possibility of administrative control by those who are more equal than the rest.

Forty years have elapsed since then. Josif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili has passed into history condemned as fervently as he was once worshipped. However, his work lives on. It defends itself effectively, despite various attempts to improve it, to add to it, to develop it and modify it to suit new needs. This also applies to his work in the form of CEMA.

I do not mind if CEMA employees get angry with me. It is not their fault. At least it is not the fault of all them, at least not of present-day Polish and Soviet CEMA employees, those of the period of perestroyka. However, the subjective desire to change things cannot change much in a machine that was created for purposes that are entirely different from the ones that we consider desirable today. What we consider desirable is the full economic integration of the European socialist states. We want it to be modelled on the EEC to a significant extent. That is right, and let us not be afraid of saying it! We want it to be based on the convertibility of currencies and realistic prices that are are created by the free operation of economic laws and the flow of goods, capital, services, and people. How far from this goal are we? To what extent does CEMA serve this goal effectively?

This is a rhetorical question. The events that have recently taken place on our borders—borders that are meant to unite us in theory, but actually divide us in practice, and to such an extent at that!—provided a dramatic illustration of the economic disintegration of the European socialist states and one that is readily comprehensible to everyone. Contrary to what is widely believed, the Poles—a people considered to be particularly fond of trading—are not the only ones against whom a customs war has been launched. Without giving any kind of warning, Czechoslovak customs officials suddenly struck out at Soviet tourists, which, for various reasons, would have been unthinkable not so long ago. This form of protecting one's own markets, which has such lamentable effects, attests to the sorry state (or prospects) of these markets and not just to the absence of integration, but also to the lack of straightforward economic coordination between CEMA members. It is painful to have to say this, but it is something that has to be said at some point.

Can things be different today, at a time when the socialist states are divided and differ with respect to fundamental economic concepts? Some wish to construct a market economy, while others firmly adhere to the economic system that they describe as planned and what we call the command-directive system. So how can we integrate?

Perhaps the best solution—it is the only possible one—is that economic integration should proceed by way of the integration of groups that are smaller than CEMA itself? For example, a start could be made with Polish-Soviet-Hungarian integration—perhaps Bulgaria could be involved also. Whatever is done, we need fast and radical decisions in this area. It is something that Poland particularly needs, for which real economic cooperation with the community of friendly states is of fundamental importance for the future. This is not only true of Poland, but is also even true of a giant like the Soviet Union, which will not cope with perestroyka by shutting itself off within its own four walls. The capitalist West will not be the partner of its dreams always and in every respect.

It will not be true for us as well. Only the very naive can believe that the kind gods in the West will pour money into the Polish economy. Of course, our future must also involve the development of close ties with the West, which is ultimately where the sources of science, technology, and finance lie. However, we need these ties in order to develop eastward. The West has enough as it is; it has no need for our market penetration and competition.

The one modern Polish economic concept that has proved itself in practice was created by Count Franciszek Ksawery Lubecki-Drucki: the modernization of Polish manufacturing capacity by way of Western technological progress and unlimited markets in the East. We still benefit from the heritage of the Kingdom of Poland, the so-called Congress Kingdom, today. It is worth knowing that under Lubecki the coffers of the Kingdom's treasury contained clear cash reserves and that receipts exceeded expenditure for the only time in centuries of Polish history. They benefited those who took part in the November Uprising and who cursed the count for being a collaborator and for being captivated by the "brilliance of Francs." We know what the result of that was, but that is another story.

In our history, the history that we create everyday, a new economic opportunity is emerging for the country between the Odra and the Bug. What is in other respects an unfortunate geographical location—on the road from the West to the East—may become an important trump card. The Soviet perestroyka will become a great economic process sooner or later. We can play a very advantageous role in it by skillfully drawing support from Western thinking and experience and cooperating with Western explorers in discovering the USSR economically.

For this to happen, we have to start creating the foundations of future eastern economic integration today and undoubtedly with more energy that has been the case so far. For the time being, we are still Stalin's children in this field.

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Receive Castro Message

AU2802153989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Feb 89 p 5

[Cable from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the State Council and Council of Ministers, to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On behalf of the party, the government, and all our people, I take pleasure in expressing thanks for your fraternal congratulations on the 30th anniversary of the victory of our revolution.

In the desire that the unshakeable relations between our countries will continue to strengthen, and with the determination to work for a world of peace, social justice, and progress for all nations, I want to express my highest consideration.

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

Constantin Meets Socialist Leader in Nicosia

AU2802203289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1941 GMT 28 Feb 89

["RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Vasos Lyssaridhis, President of the Socialist Party of Cyprus (EDEK), Exchange Messages"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Nicosia, AGERPRES, 28/02/1989—Vasos Lyssaridhis, president of the Socialist Party of Cyprus, (EDEK), received Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium, who represents the RCP to the festivities marking the 20th foundation anniversary of that party. During the interview the president of the Socialist Party of Cyprus was conveyed from the RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu a warm salute and the best wishes of health and success in the activity devoted to the attainment of the vital aspirations of the Cypriot people.

Warmly thanking, the EDEK president requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed his cordial salute and his warm wishes of health and personal happiness, of further success in the activity devoted to the building of socialism in Romania, to the promotion of peace, cooperation and progress worldwide.

Milea Sends Message to USSR on Army-Navy Day

AU2702093489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a congratulatory cable to Army General D.T. Yazov, minister of defense of the USSR, on the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy Day.

Danish Food Reportedly Sold to DPRK for Currency

AU2702174489 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Feb 89 p 9

[Maren Koester-Hetzendorf report: "Danish Foodstuffs for North Korea"]

[Text] Vienna—Under the leadership of Nicolae Ceausescu, Communist Romania is suffering its most severe economic crisis to date. The population is suffering from acute lacks of supplies. Even staple food and milk for babies are lacking. Only very few goods are imported—those which are lacking most. However, these goods do not seem to be destined for the population; they are sold to North Korea for dumping prices. The cynical justification: lack of foreign currency.

Two documents, which were made available to DIE PRESSE, prove that Bucharest is providing dubious development aid with so-called deficit goods. On 19 December 1988 the Danish Peter Justesen Company A/S delivered goods to the Romanian Embassy in Bonn. The goods registered on the delivery note of the company, which has its seat in the Copenhagen free port, were edible oil, spaghetti, rice, flour, sugar, yeast, bread crumbs, honey, condensed milk, long-life milk, baby food, butter, and margarine.

In addition, the document says that the goods were to arrive in the German capital on 21 December. The price—including $5,061.40 for freight, packaging, and insurance fees—amounted to $66,008.40.

Exactly 1 month later the same goods, listed in the same way and with the same quantities, appear in a message of the Romanian foreign trade enterprise "Ilexim"—in an offer to the North Korean foreign trade association ("Korea General Export and Import Corporation—Central District Pyongyang"). The bill for $36,567.50 does not include fees for freight, packaging, and insurance, as they are listed on the delivery note of the Justesen company.

The Ilexim message says that the goods "were ordered by our embassy," but had to be sold because of the "current currency problems." Therefore, a 40-percent discount is granted.

The fact that Bucharest "dumps" the goods purchased with expensive foreign currency a few weeks earlier, has given rise to speculations. The Justesen delivery notes could be forged. The assumptions are nurtured by the experience of Romanian citizens, whose friends and relatives send parcels from abroad. It has repeatedly happened that import regulations are changed practically overnight. This, then provides the reason for impounding the parcels. Many of those affected assume that lively business is being made with the confiscated relief goods.

Agricultural Growth, Modernization Reviewed

AU2302120489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1053 GMT 23 Feb 89

["Agriculture on the Road of Intensive Growth and Modernization"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Much has been invested in agriculture since 1965 to increase its fixed assets, hence the country's economic potential. In line with the national programme that makes provision for stable and safe farm productions, action was taken to step up land improvement works. In 1988, 380.3 thousand hectares of land were irrigated, which will bring the total irrigated area to 3,750 thousand hectares this spring. At the end of 1988, 3,404 thousand hectares of land had been drained and 2,490.5 thousand hectares—erosion controlled.

Also the number of farm tractors and other machines has been growing steadily: it is more than 20 times larger now than in 1965. They include 180,000 farm tractors, over 60,000 self-propelled combines, hundreds of thousands of high-yield modern equipment—all Romanian made—to ensure that the major farm operations are done mechanically.

The effort for the growth and modernization of agriculture is behind a high production dynamism, which shows in an average yearly increase of gross output of 2.9 per cent and of net output of 3 percent. Grains production totalled 32.6 million tonnes last year. No less significant were the productions of field vegetables—10,050 thousand tonnes; fruits—2,880 thousand tonnes; and grapes—2,245 thousand tonnes.

A high rise from 1988 is planned for 1989: 5-5.5 per cent for the total farm production and 6-6.5 per cent for the net production. The farmers' incomes from work on producer cooperative farms and on their own homesteads will be up 2 per cent from one year before.

A growing plant production is scheduled to make the best possible use of the land and raise the average productions of all crops. The land improvement plan makes sure that every four-five years a given area is subject to melioration. There are measures to improve the management of producer cooperatives, of the state farm units, of the farm machinery stations and of the other local economic units.

Research will pursue the development of new winter wheat varieties, corn hybrids with a shorter vegetation, that can better cope with the conditions in each zone of the country, sunflower hybrids with a high oil content and sugar beet hybrids with a high sugar content.

On the line of making good use of the productive potential of the soil and of climatic conditions, provisions are made for double and successive crops to be grown on two million hectares of land.

Animal husbandry is a top priority of agriculture in 1989. There are plans to increase both the animal head, and the average and total productions, to better meet the consumers' demands for food and the other requirements of the national economy.

The plans to develop animal farming in 1989 are supported by a good fodder basis, by a larger fodder concentrate production, and a better quality and structure of the fodder. In order to increase fodder production in terms of volume, steps will further be taken to use most efficiently the over four million hectares of pastureland, through sowing, fertilizations and other land improvement operations.

A strong technical and material basis will also help the development of agriculture with mechanization pursuing to make intensive use of the existing tractors and other farm machinery. Up to date, large-capacity equipment will be put to production that can perform a number of operations simultaneously—land preparation, herbicide and insecticide spraying, crop maintenance and extra fertilization.

The national land improvement programme makes provision for these works to be extended further by taking into account the organization of the territory, the general watercourse development plan, and the development of hilly areas and sloping terrain where orchards and vineyards are planned as well as forest plantations.

Price Stability, Pay Increase Reported

AU1702211189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/2/1989—No important modification of any category of prices has been operated in Romania for almost seven years, the last measures in this respect belonging to the past five-year interval (in 1981 and 1982), writes Cecilia M. Draghici, vice-chairwomen of the State Committee for Prices, in REVISTA ECONOMICA No. 7 of 17 February.

Price stability is conceived and achieved in Romania through a strict control and the observance of the limits stipulated in the state plan. When retail prices were changed account was taken that a strict correlation existed with the tasks set under the plan as regards the rise in the population's standards of living. Price stability has a solid economic base materialized in an intense and balanced economic growth, an optimal ratio between accumulation and consumption, a permanent reduction of costs and an increase of productivity, a judicious correlation of the volume and growth dynamics of the population's incomes with the volume and growth rate of its money spending.

The controlled evolution of prices in the Romanian economy has always consisted in economically justified modifications, with moderate growth rates (in the current quinquennium retail prices must grow within the planned limits of 1.1 and 1.3 per cent annually and they have done so so far) at considerable intervals, the author of the article specifies.

One of the exigencies of the current five-year plan period is the substantial increase of productivity so that it should outdistance and compensate for the present pay raise at the level of each enterprise, to the end of counterbalancing the pressure it can exert on production costs. We recall that a vast pay raise (ten per cent on an average) drive is carried on in Romania over 1 August 1988-1 August 1989 to benefit 7.9 million people.

Third Stage of Pay, Pension Raise Noted

AU2802193189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/2/1989—A third pay and pension raise stage begins in Romania starting 1 March.

All the remunerations higher than 2,250 lei will be increased in the next six months, until August, phased out by branches and areas of activity, so that by the end of this drive average pay in the economy will stand at 3,300 lei (as to 2,980 lei when it started).

The new pay raise will benefit over 3.4 million working people. The money to be additionally paid to all working people will amount to 24.4 thousand million lei, and in 1990 additional incomes will stand at 29 thousand million lei.

The first pay raise stage started on 1 August 1988 when the remunerations in the 1,500-2,000 lei bracket were increased. Thus, the lowest tarriff remuneration in the economy augmented from 1,500 to 2,000 lei a month, that is by roughly 33 per cent, this being the highest raise in all socialist years. It benefited over 2.5 million working people in all the branches of the national economy. Remunerations in the 2,001-2,250 lei bracket were increased in the second pay raise stage spanning 1 November 1988-1 January 1989 to reach 2,401-2,650 lei, that is some 20 per cent higher. This raise benefited about 1.9 million working people.

Following the first two stages of pay raise the working people made 5.8 thousand million lei in additional incomes in 1988, adding to which were another 1.7 thousand million lei, starting December, accounting for 50 per cent of the working people's production making and profit-sharing fund for the past year.

Pensions were also augmented last year (over 1 August-1 October 1988) the lowest ones increasing by 45.5 per cent. This raise benefited 801,500 people with pensions of up to 1,500 lei. Starting 1 March pensions in the 1,501-3,000 lei a month will increase concluding the pension raise drive that is to benefit more than 1.4 million people. The average pension will be of 2,000 lei a month (from 1,873 lei at the beginning of the raise drive). This year pensioners will make two thousand million lei in additional incomes and in 1990—2.4 thousand million lei.

The new raises, that are to come into force starting 1 March, will affect neither the right to state child benefits nor rents.

Economic, Industrial Growth in Brasov County

AU2402184289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1405 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/2/1989—Brasov County (central Romania) with its powerful economic and industrial potential tellingly reflects the high development rates of the country in the years of socialism.

After 1965, the Brasov industry registered a 5.4 time production growth holding an important place in the national economy. Fixed assets increased with every passing year to reach 104 thousand million lei, providing for an economic activity worth 139,000 lei per inhabitant which places it among the first counties of the country. These achievements were scored through the development and modernization of the 54 industrial units of national interest located in seven large compounds.

The industry of the county manufactures a large number of products among which worth mentioning are lorries, tractors and bearings. As much as 19 percent of the county's industrial production is exported.

Essential mutations have occurred both in the structure by industrial branches and in the distribution of the productive units in the territory. Significant in this respect is the fact that other towns besides Brasov have increased their productive potential—Fagaras Municipality 4.5 times, Risnov 8.8 times, Sacele 6.6 times. As a matter of fact the county's industrial production is turned out by three large zones: Brasov, Fagaras and Rupea.

The small industry and handicrafts have strongly developed in recent years turning to best account local raw materials. The small industry alone for instance achieves over 3.5 thousand million lei worth of production annually.

At the same time the county is an important zone of tourist interest the mountain resort of Poiana Brasov being well known for its picturesqueness and facilities and visited by thousands of Romanian and foreign tourists.

Economic growth was paralleled by ample transformations from an urban point of view. Modern houses, learning, health, tourist and other units have been built. In the ongoing five-year plan period alone over 5,000 flats were built of which 60 percent in the centre of the town. Brasov municipality will boast two central zones, that of the old, historic town and the new political and administrative centre connected by two modern thoroughfares. In the old Brasov the townfathers pursue the preservation of the historic, cultural architectural patrimony as well as the revitalization of commercial, tourist and recreational functions.

The other towns of the county are also developing strongly new residential areas and other facilities specific to modern towns being under construction.

In their turn, rural settlements traverse an important organization and modernization stage conceived as a long-range process and pursuing a better utilization of built-up areas, a higher comfort and living conditions closer to those in towns. Three of the county's communes—Feldioara, Hoghiz and Prejmer—that boast a powerful economic, social and cultural potential, are to become agroindustrial towns. Preserving their traditions these settlements will boast a 12-grade lyceum, gymnasial schools, culture and education complexes, stores, kindergartens, creches, sportsgrounds and other facilities of civic interest of an urban type.

Unconventional Energy Potential Discussed

AU2402200689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/2/1989—In the Romanian strategy of securing its energetically balanced development, the work to curb consumption and modernize productive technologies is paralleled by the promotion of nonconventional sources, which gains growing impetus. The current stage can be defined as a transition from investigation and experiment to the wide-scale application of the gains of research to the economic and social activities.

Romania's nonconventional potential is put at some 15 million tonnes of conventional fuel, almost two thirds of it spelling solar energy. To capitalize on it projects have been worked out and solar cells built measuring in excess of 800,000 square meters late in 1988. According to estimates, in this respect Romania stands fifth in the world, after the U.S.A. (10 million sq. m.), Japan (eight million sq. m.), Australia and Israel (over two million sq. m. each).

Among the most important Romanian achievements stand more than 100 stations delivering up to 750 cubic meter of hot water daily for the comfort of people living in 37,000 apartments as well as of hotel residents. Solar energy has been used also to heat homes, particularly by the border of the Black Sea, as also in such towns as Bucharest or Timisoara, where solar districts have been erected.

Apart from this, the energy of the sun has also been taught to dry cereals, fruit and vegetables, hay, tobacco, bricks and foundry sand. A representative installation of this kind has been developed at the sylo of Oltenita, a town near Bucharest, to dry cereals. Cells covering 1,200 sq. m. deliver 70,000 cu. m. of hot air per hour, a period of time in which between 12 and 15 tonnes of cereals get dried thus saving annually about 102 tonnes of conventional fuel. The efficiency of this installation has prompted many initiatives: So far another 30 such installations have been built and until 1990 as many as 100 will be added. It is also in the agrozootechnical area that solar energy is used by some 700 farms breeding milking cows, to help with the preparation of hot water. Modular installations have been developed to this end with areas of 12.24 m and 48 m.

The solar energy is also present in the industrial field: To prepare 60,000 litres of hot water daily at the "Integrata" enterprise of Constanta, specializing in wool fabric, to prepare 6,500 litres of hot water (40-50 degrees celsius) at the "Zarea" wine and champagne manufacturer of Bucharest, etc.

As concerns direct conversion by means of photoelectric cells, several demonstrative installations have been developed, including a house run exclusively on solar energy (3 KW), water pumping systems (1.4 kW), power groups for telecommunications stations (150 W) and a number of mobile sources of energy.

Emergency Session of SFRY Joint Assembly Held

Zemljaric Addresses Assemly

LD0103190589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—The events of recent days, unfortunately, confirmed the dreadful seriousness of the situation of encroachment on our constitutional set-up, system, and policy, the safety of the people in Kosovo, and also the seriousness of the overall socioeconomic and political crisis. That is to say the events confirmed everything many delegates had pointed out during the previous discussions, said Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president, during the joint session of both houses of the SFRY Assembly. During the session, the assembly considered tasks in connection with the situation in the country. These events are an indication that it is no longer enough simply to update the Yugoslav program on Kosovo; an in-depth re-examination of the present measures on the origins and causes of the sociopolitical crisis in Kosovo, division, lack of safety of the Serbs and Montenegrins, Albanians, and other nationalities is required as a matter of urgency. In addition, politically truly coordinated and efficient methods for their elimination must also be devised.

Speaking of the concrete measures and actions that the FEC and the federal organs, in cooperation with the organs in the Serbian SR and the SAP of Kosovo, had been taking to ensure the functioning of the vital services and of the system, Zemljaric said that since the Stari Trg miners started their work stoppage, and especially since the news was reported that the miners refused to come out of the mine, the FEC had increasingly monitored the situation and had taken or proposed appropriate measures involving itself, with special concern, in protecting the health of the miners who had stayed behind in the mines and on adopting the measures [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 2-5 not received].

It was established that on 27 February the majority of production capacities in the province were shut down. Greatest damages were incurred in the so-called "pooled" production areas, whose products are intended for exports. There was a threat of a work stoppage in industrial plants.

Great damage has also been caused by the occasional shutting down of the melting furnace in Trepca's lead smelting plant. As a result of the fall in strategic production and the failure to meet export obligations, compulsory attendance at workplace has been introduced in the most important export-bound and production industries.

To normalize the production process in the province the Federal Executive Council has allocated from the federal reserves a considerable amount of oil derivatives, zinc, lead, raw materials for textile industry and other semimanufactures.

All the most important organizations, as well as the majority of work organizations in other sectors of economy, are working today. Technical checks are being carried out in the mines affected by the work stoppage and preparations are underway to resume production.

Infrastructure services are working normally.

Including production plants which I have already mentioned, some services and shops, a total of 23,500 workers in Kosovo are under compulsory attendance. This amounts to just under 10 percent of the those employed in the economy and services in Kosovo. However, it is still impossible to evaluate the overall cost of direct and indirect damages caused by halts and stoppages in production. It is quite obvious that they will be enormous and long-term, Zemljaric said.

In view of the continued deterioration in the security situation in the province and numerous protests, the internal affairs organs have directed their attention to uncovering the protagonists of hostile activities and relevant documents, the organizers and instigators of the November demonstrations, on protecting vital installations, preserving public peace and order, safeguarding the safety of people and their property, Zemljaric stressed.

To enhance the safety of people and their property and ensure public peace and order, the combined militia unit has been increased and reserve forces put on the stand-by in case the need arises for further interventions.

The order introduced as a result of November demonstrations banning public gatherings in the province is stil in force. The measures have been enhanced to protect the property in organizations of associated labor and control intensified at country's borders to prevent explosives, weapons, ammunition, and propaganda material with hostile content from being smuggled into the country and to stop illegal crossing of the state border.

The federal secretariat for national defense is following instructions by the SFRY Presidency providing for special measures in the SAP of Kosovo. Under these measures, sections of the armed forces on the territory of the province are put on the appropriate degree of alert and combat readiness.

Inspection and other organs of the socio-political communities are giving necessary help to work organizations in Kosovo with the aim of enforcing the SFRY Presidency's decision to impose compulsory work attendance in some sectors of sepcial importance for the functioning of the economy and supplies.

Janez Zemljaric drew attention to two topics of political nature. Thanks to the great interest of the media in the events in Kosovo and to the democratic character of our information system, the events in Kosovo continued to develop before, as it were, the eyes of the entire Yugoslav and foreign public.

Unfortunately, some sections of the media were neither objective nor fair in reporting from Kosovo. Differences in the political views of the situation and relations in Kosovo influenced the style of reporting. On the one hand, there was exaggeration of the political aspects of the work stoppage, and on the other, the humanitarian aspect was dramatized and solely focussed upon. Differing ways of interpreting the situation influenced the mood of the public in some parts of the country and its attitude to the events in Kosovo.

It is our view that the organs responsible for information, in both the province and the federation, were not properly organized nor did they cooperate in the right way so as to provide equal opportunities for reporting. Here, too, differences in political assessments of the situation led to differences in the way representatives of some sections of the media were treated. This was and still is politically very damaging, Zemljaric said.

We, in the Federal Executive Council, agree that the latest events in Kosovo have their international dimension, which we must not ignore. These events have become more or less the only topic and prism through which Yugoslavia is being viewed abroad. An atmosphere was created in which the way in which the problem of the miners' strike was going to be resolved was seen as some kind of test for Yugoslav democracy and for the capacity of our political system to operate more efficiently.

Unfortunately, very little attention was paid to the genuine and important political problems or to the historical facts behind these dramatic events. We are again reminded that our country's reputation abroad and confidence in it depend primarily on our internal circumstances.

At issue here is not just the serious nature of the problems facing us but also our capacity and readiness to act efficiently in resolving them. The latest developments in Kosovo, however, have failed to provide any evidence of our unity or coordinated behavior.

In contacts with foreign representatives in our country and abroad, our foreign partners were informed about the real proportions and the political nature of the problem of Kosovo. Special emphasis was placed on the fact that the stability of both Yugoslavia and Kosovo was of vital interest to all our nations and nationalities and also to the wider international community. Unfortunately, there were extremely biased, tendentious, and legally unacceptable statements in some countries. In this connection, the Albanian ambassador in Belgrade was summoned to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on 27 February and was asked to explain what his country's real policy was: whether it is what they say during talks with us or what they state on other occasions or publish, distribute, and do throughout the world.

We have made genuine efforts to develop good-neighborly relations with this country and wish, therefore, to know this country's real attitude. Stable relations must be developed on an unambiguous policy proceeding from realistic long-term interests of both countries.

The Federal Executive Council, the federal organs and organizations in cooperation with the Serbian and Kosovo Executive Council have formulated concrete tasks and measures of implementing the decisions of the SFRY Presidency providing for special measures in Kosovo and will provide help in coordinating and monitoring the fulfillment of the set tasks, Janez Zemljaric said, bringing his report to a conclusion.

Mojsov Report to Assembly

LD0103194289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—Out of altogether 247 sessions of the SFRY Presidency a vast number were devoted to the analysis of the political and security situation in the country, especially in Kosovo, said Lazar Mojsov, SFRY Presidency member, in his introductory report at today's emergency session of the SFRY Assembly.

Having noted that the counterrevolution in Kosovo had been lasting a long time, Mojsov spoke about the situation in this province in 1941, 1945, 1948, 1968, and so on until 1981. Such a situation culminated in March and April 1981 by the armed uprising and was assessed by all the state and party organs as the counterrevolution. The armed opposition was soon defeated, there were only 9 or 11 victims. A precise number was never established, nor were the persons who died or those who killed them ever identified. The cause of this lies in the fact that the legal state in Kosovo at the time, as well as later on, did not at all function, said Lazar Mojsov.

The counterrevolution has been going on continually since then, which of course has serious consequences for the entire country. A particular concern is caused by the fact that in these 8 years 50,000 Serbs and Montenegrins and members of other non-Albanian nations and nationalities living in Kosovo left the province due to pressure and threats to the property and personal security and basic human rights. A massive indoctrination with greater Albanian separatism and nationalism has been operating there.

Lazar Mojsov noted that the picture of the national composition of the population in Kosovo is changing. There has been a demographic explosion of the Albanian population in Kosovo which, together with indoctrination, leads to the realization of the plan of the ethnically pure Kosovo—the separation of Kosovo as a republic and the creation of greater Albania.

The other generator of the crisis, in Mojsov's opinion, is Serbia's constitutional position. It is a matter of the unprecedented situation that gives Serbia some kind of guardianship rights—an unprecedented situation which no other republic has when it comes to the passing of its own constitution—the situation in which provinces have the same rights as the republics. In this connection Mojsov recalled the well-known stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the realization of unity and fellowship in Serbia, as well as the initiative of the SFRY Presidency for the changing of the SFRY Constitutioon. These and other documents stress the need for changing those parts of the Constitution that refer to the position of Serbia within the federation.

Meanwhile, noted Mojsov, the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo has been getting increasingly worse. Albanian separatists and nationalists have, in the meantime, changed their tactics which were mainly reduced to the creation of the atmosphere of fear, pressures, and threats to their most fundamental national and human rights and human dignity. In brief, numerous sessions and conclusions, and exhausting discussions were often paid no heed while the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins continued. This paper activity yielded no great changes. All our actions, mainly forum-like ones, can be compared to the actions of firemen putting out a fire, and not to those fundamentally changing the situation in Kosovo for the better. The logical consequence of all this is the very perfidious, calculated infiltration of the counterrevolutionary forces into this vacuum. Their basic goals were formulated as early as 1941, especially by the Prizren league. At the time when Albania was the "sword of the Cominform's subversive activity against Yugoslavia," and apparently even earlier than that, its intelligence service was set up with centers in Kosovo.

From that time there was a constant creation of organizations with various names and platforms but with the same aim. In 1981 alone 9 large organizations and 93 groups, as well as many groups within the Yugoslav People's Army, which prepared armed and other subversive actions which culminated in the tragic crime in Paracin, were discovered.

In this same period, 1,400 people were criminally tried and about 6,000 were sentenced in magistrate's courts. Most of these 1,400 people were set free or pardoned. And the last Albanian who was responsible for a verbal offense was freed at the end of 1988 in accordance with a decision of the SFRY Presidency. Since the outbreak of the counterrevolution, over 18,000 cases of posting slogans and distributing leaflets in towns and other places in Kosovo, have been registered. All of this, Mojsov said, was aimed at creating an atmosphere of fear, and the consequence was a river which has not dried up of Serbs and Montenegrins flowing toward Serbia and towards our Federal Assembly. Here they are today as well.

Seeking a reply to the question of why the center and named leaders of the counterrevolution have not previously been discovered, Mojsov said that their organization is like "a many-headed hydra," composed of different organizations and units of the Albanian intelligence service, although, Albania, especially now, is emitting statements about goodneighborliness. This is the dual-track policy which it has always conducted. An indication of how active they have been can be seen from the fact that in these last 2 key days for the present difficult situation in Kosovo the second channel has been dropped from the Djakovica television relay station and live Tirana television programs giving instructions in connection with the situation have been picked up.

The third head of this many-headed hydra is Albanian hostile emigration, especially in Western countries. The whole activity is coordinated from Albania, but other large intelligence systems, whose aim is the destablization of Yugoslavia, have also penetrated it, as they have every other emigration.

On the basis of this situation, Mojsov stressed, the SFRY Presidency had to strengthen security measures in Kosovo, despite all those political documents which we adopted, and which, as I said, we implemented poorly. This is a reference to the October 1987 decision of the SFRY Presidency. Since November of that year, a group of security service personnel from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which directly organizes the work of the security service, has been staying in Kosovo. These measures, Mojsov assesses, produced certain results, but they are still not appropriate to the needs.

Also mentioning other measures which the Presidency has taken to ensure public order and peace and the system as established in the Constitution, Mojsov said that in the main they were restricted to a preventive function. However, due to the further exacerbation of the situation, the Presidency decided last August to engage a combined militia unit to secure a series of sensitive points in the province, especially where frequent attacks had occurred on Serbs and Montenegrins. The unit has been strengthened numerically on several occasions since last November, especially after the events during this month.

The November demonstrations of the members of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo were aimed at preserving the status of Kosovo within the republic and the province, and at preventing the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia.

The Presidency was constantly assured by the security organs that they were covering centers of activities of greater Albanian nationalists and separatists well, and they did not inform us of anything that was being prepared. On the basis of this one could have concluded that the organizers of these demonstrations were outside structures watched by the security service, and as a result of that, Mojsov said, on the 21 November and then on 8 December the SFRY Presidency ordered the Federal Council for the protection of the Constitutional Order to establish who the organizers were and what the aims of the November events were. A combined group consisting of members of the Secretariats for Internal Affairs of Serbia, Kosovo, and the Federal Secretariat was formed for this purpose. A 16-page report by that working group indicates who the organizers are and their names. Since it also concerns people in important positions, it was concluded that concrete and swift action by the LC organs necessary, and above all by the Presidiums of the LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, so that the organizers can be unmasked at the political level and above all in the work organizations in which they are operating. Then judgments can be made and the possibility of criminal responsibility established.

So, Mojsov concluded, the answer to the question by a delegate in the assembly as to whether it is true that such a report exists is yes. But, Mojsov added, as usual the action has not even started. Once more, the forces of counterrevolution have exploited the vacuum, and it is not surprising that one of the basic demands in the latest tragic events was that the names of the organizers of the November demonstrations are not published, because the enemy and the organizer know that something like this exists.

Only on 25 February, when the tragic events in Kosovo were underway, did the SFRY Presidency get hold of a fully worked out plan for what was to happen in Kosovo in February, although the document was issued at the begining of the month. It was written in the well-known demagogical style, and was signed by a group of Kosovo Communists with new false names from the ones they have been using until now.

According to some assesments this is a "real headquarters document for action, which envisages three phases of action: the initial phase being the organization of a general passive strike by staying on factory premises, enterprises, schools, and faculties, boycotting the market and the like." Anyone who has followed events in Kosovo can see that the initial phase has been fully realized, Mojsov said.

On the basis of these objectives, 1,300 miners in the Stari Trg mine were tragically entrenched in the pits. In view of the fact that 2,450 kg of dynamite were in the pits, their lives were the main consideration when deciding what measures to undertake.

The second phase is to occur around 15 March, when the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is expected to discuss the constitution of the SR of Serbia, and new actions are to be taken and connected symbolically with the anniversary of the counterrevolution in 1981.

The third phase is armed uprising and the call to it states: "We Albanians must let the barrel of the gun do the talking. There can be peace no more. The great hour is coming."

In this headquarters assessment of the possible consequences of a passive general strike, most dangerous in the history of strikes, which makes only political demands, two possibilities are envisioned. One is that this would provoke massive sympathy for, and advocacy of, the political demands, especially of the miners who dug themselves in, that on this basis the strengthening of disunity and discord in Yugoslavia would come about, and that this would create the conditions to overthrow some leaderships, especially in the SR of Serbia. The second possibility is the intervention of the Army, but they would welcome this, too because it would give them the possibility of carrying out their further homogenization.

Their first and basic request is no change to the fundamental principles of the 1974 Constitution, although the amendments to the SFRY Constitution were adopted on Republic Day in 1988 and it is clear to everyone that the basic principles have not been tampered with. The same thing goes for Amendment 47 of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, although it clearly says that "the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia cannot change the position, rights, and duties of the autonomous provinces established by the SFRY Constitution".

Commenting on the demands of the miners that Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija resign, Mojsov recalled that Rahman Morina was at the head of the renewed Presidium for about 20 days before these events, something that clearly indicates that the events were prepared a long time prior to this. Morina was taken as a symbol that should be overthrown so the LCY line and its implementation in Kosovo might simply be overthrown and so that by this action all those numerous Albanians who want to live together with members of other nations and nationalities might be frightened into following their lead.

When the miners came out of the mines, it was confirmed that a considerable number of retired miners were in the pits. All miners are from the miners' villages, from the Salje area and they swore to carry out the given tasks. Comrades, such as for example Abrasi, warned that we should take into account their character and mentality, and their fanatism, spite, and stubborness. [sentence as received] We took into account all this, Mojsov said, and we undertook everything for miners to be pulled up from the pits.

People from the composite organization of associated labor of the Trepca mines took control of the mine, including entries of vehicles and journalists, and they decided on everything. We and our people's authority were not present there.

Lazar Mojsov said that during a period of time certain opportunities existed for miners to come out of the pits unconditionally. These opportunities were destroyed with entrance through a secret entry of other emissaries, and among them Azem Vlasi and Bahri Orucija, who first denied and then admitted that they were in the mine, when evidence about this was presented to them.

According to Mojsov, the province was not only completely paralyzed, but parts of it, completely outside our control, were occupied. Private shopkeepers were frightened into closing shops, all professors of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality at the Pristina University received threatening letters to leave Kosovo immediately. Such blackmail was addressed to others as well. All this made it clear that necessary measures must be undertaken immediately, because anything later could have been too late.

Lazar Mojsov then noted in detail the constitutional and legal measures that give the SFRY Presidency the right and obligation to act in such situations.

What then, after the measures that have been taken? The strike has ended; not a single human life is in danger. However, said Mojsov, just as we expected, there has been a delayed reaction by Serbs and Montenegrins. They are now feeling very insecure and in great danger in various places, demanding additional guarantees and protection. The Leposavic miners went down to the pit and are now stating their demands.

To normalize the situation it is necessary, in Lazar Mojsov's words, to resolutely implement the line of the LCY and all party and state organs, the line of brotherhood, fellowship, equality, and joint life of members of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. There must be no hesitation because otherwise we would come into the situation which is banned by the Constitution: capitulation.

Second, it is necessary to adopt the amendments to the Serbian Constitution as soon as possible. This will, of course, contribute to efforts to reduce the concern of the citizens of Serbia, especially Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Mojsov insisted in particular on political work among the Albanian population because, he said, a large number of Albanians was in line with the LCY. They should be separated from the influence and infernal plans of the greater Albanian separatist organization, which does not even stop at sacrificing its own people. In the already mentioned platform it is stated that the realization of their plan would require numerous victims and they are appealing to their people to do so. The workers who are not nationalists and who cannot be nationalists should be separated from [transmission interrupted, remainder of TANJUG part 9 not received].

It is necessary, Mojsov continued, to carry out a new verification of the organizers and ringleaders of all this and of all those who, on the basis of their dark ideology, attempted to manipulate the workers and miners, and did so mercilessly and without troubling their consciences one bit.

I am convinced, Mojsov stressed, that the situation in Kosovo has not been lost. We have the strength, if we finally collect ourselves, to realize the LCY line, which has been jointly established and which enjoys the general support of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

It is necessary to set in motion the economy of Kosovo, which has otherwise been in a very difficult position. Of the total funds in the Fund for the Development of the Underdeveloped, over half—51.9 percent—goes to Kosovo or, to put it another way, over $1 million a day. What is the extent of the losses that have just been incurred now by the cessation of production throughout Kosovo, Mojsov asked. Many large systems, such as Crvena Zastava and Prvi Maj have been prevented from maintaining normal production because of the strikes in factories in Kosovo, which are part of them. It is necessary to do everything to get the economy going and to make up the losses, both to achieve economic results and also to implement all the documents we adopted on Kosovo.

The integrity of the SFRY has been threatened in Kosovo. It has been threatened to an extreme degree. This requires of all of us, and especially of the SFRY Presidency, that all the measures envisioned by the law and the Constitution be taken. These measures ought to cool the heads of those who are prepared to sacrifice their own people.

Mojsov then drew attention to the vital need for the unity of all our fora and avoidance of all shortsighted, partial, and irresponsible statements, which only sow discord. It is necessary to strengthen brotherhood and unity and the equality of all nations and nationalities and preserve this Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, founded on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. Without such a struggle it will be difficult for us to move toward the three reforms which mean the modernization of our country and its overall economic and sociopolitical system. Without this, Mojsov said, concluding his address to delegates of the SFRY Assembly, we will not find a way out of the crisis and we will not respond to the challenges on the threshold of the 21st century.

Conclusions Adopted

LD0103205489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar 89 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly supports the special measures the SFRY Presidency undertook in the province for protecting the constitutional order, public order and peace, and normalizing the Kosovo situation as fast as possible. The assembly also demands from the state presidency that it inform the Assembly regularly about the results of the implementation of these measures, and the conclusions about activities and tasks of the assembly regarding the current situation in the country and state. The conclusions were adopted at today's joint session of both chambers of the top Yugoslav organ of power.

The conclusions were made on the basis of the speeches by Lazar Mojsov, Janez Zemljaric, as well as the discussion and proposals of 24 delegates. Thereby today's extraordinary session is over.

SAWPY Federal Conference Session Reported

LD0203025189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—The SAWPY federal conference today voted on the list of candidates from the republics and provinces for membership of the Yugoslav Presidency. This concludes the work entrusted to the SAWP by the constitutional amendments.

Representatives of the Republican and Provincial Conferences of the SAWP supported most of the candidates. Serbia and Vojvodina raised objections to the candidacy of Stipe Suvar and Remzi Koljgeci and Slovenia raised objections to the candidacy of Mihalj Kertes. In some regions, they made a selection of candidates from other republics or provinces and made a short list of those whom they support.

Republican and Provincial organizations of the SAWP put forward 29 personalities as possible candidates for representatives of their regions in the SFRY Presidency. It was only today that those present were informed that the number of candidates from Slovenia has been reduced from six to three—Marko Bulc, Janez Drnovsek, and Gojko Stanic. Dusan Sinigoj withdrew his candidacy, while Tomaz Kalin and Vinko Vasle failed to obtain the support of Slovene SAWP Municipal Conferences.

The candidates are:

Bosnia-Hercegovina: Nenad Kecmanovic, Stevo Mirjanic, and Milan Skoro
Montenegro: Dimitrije Baucal, Nenad Bucin, and Mijat Sukovic
Kosovo: Vukasin Jokanovic, Remzi Koljgeci, Savatije Komadinic, Rahman Morina, Tomislav Sekulic, and Bajram Seljani
Croatia: Ante Markovic, Andjelko Runjnic, and Stipe Suvar
Macedonia: Gligorie Gogovski, Petar Gosev, and Jakov Lazaroski
Slovenia: Marko Bulc, Janez Drnovsek, and Gojko Stanic
Serbia: Aleksandar Bakocevic, Borisav Jovic, Mihailo Milojevic, and Slobodan Unkovic
and Vojvodina: Mihalj Kertes, Djordje Scepancevic, Dragutin Zelenovic, and Dragoje Zarkovic.

The procedure in Croatia and the stance vis-a-vis candidates from other areas was explained by Marjan Kalanj. He observed that the procedure for putting candidates forward had been delayed in some regions and that for many of the candidates, an assessment of their work had not been sent. Although, as he put it, there was relatively limited knowledge about the candidates, the Presidium of the Croatian SAWP nevertheless gave priority to certain candidates—Kecmanovic, Skoro, Baucal, Sukovic, Lazaroski, Gogovski, Bulc, Sinigoj, Jovic, Bakocevic, Koljgeci, and Zelenovic.

Dusan Semolic said on behalf of the Slovene SAWP that in making their decision, they started from the criteria adopted in December and the commitments of the candidates to be fighters for constitutionality, legality, and socialist morals. In keeping with this, they could not support Mihalj Kertes, the Vojvodina candidate, because of his statements aimed against Slovenia. Semolic referred in particular to Kertes' statement in which he said that the Slovene leadership has to be kept quiet, and he stressed that this leadership had been legally elected and has the support of the people.

The SAWP of Bosnia-Hercegovina also made a selection and made a short list of candidates to whom it gives particular support. These are Sukovic, Baucal, Suvar, Runjic, Bulc, Sinigoj, Jovic, and Bakocevic. Ilija Rozic said that in Bosnia-Hercegovina they believe that the member of the Presidency from Kosovo ought to be of Albanian nationality, though if the Provincial Conference decides that this should be a Serb, then they give priority to Vukasin Jokanovic. Rozic assessed that among the Vojvodina Candidates, there should also be a member of Hungarian nationality, but that they give priority to Zarkovic and Zelenovic.

Macedonia, in the words of Metodi Petrovski, supports all the candidates on whom they have received explanations. Information on the candidates from the provinces has, in fact, been late in reaching them. It is expected of members of the SFRY Presidency, Petrovski said, that they will tear down the walls of nationalism and that they will be consistent campaigners for the affirmation of the achievements of the revolution.

The representative of the Serbian SAWP, Dragan Milicevic, like those who went before him, stressed that members of the SFRY Prsidency should be people who enjoy the confidence of their region and the whole of Yugoslavia. Hence, it would not be a good thing for Stipe Suvar, who has lost the confidence of the people in Serbia—something which has been demonstrated in numerous reactions to the way in which he has proceeded—ought not to be a member of the collective head of state, Milicevic said. Serbia also has the same stance in connection with the candidature of Remzi Koljgeci. Working people and citizens of Serbia have many objections to his work, especially to his irresolution in resolving the situation in Kosovo, Milicevic said.

Veselin Raspopovic said that in Montenegro, none of the competent Republican organs had put forward candidates for the SFRY Presidency, but that the base had done this. Montenegro does not have any objections to the proposed candidates, but we are surprised, Raspopovic said, that Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are establishing priority lists. We note all the objections, but priority, and we do not know what this means, we ourselves will give by having a vote of all citizens in a referendum. He stressed in particular that Nenad Bucin had obtained greater support than the other personalities in the procedure hitherto in Montenegro.

Kosovo, according to Budo Vujisic, supports all the candidates. Since we have not yet decided what nationality the Presidency member from this province will be, we have proposed three Albanians and a Serb, Vujisic said.

Vojvodina supported all the candidates except Suvar, something which Sava Ivancevic did not explain particularly, and Koljgeci, about whom it was said that he has not shown sufficient resolution in connection with the latest events in Kosovo.

Marjan Kalanj reacted to the stances of Serbia and Vojvodina and said that Stipe Suvar has been proposed for the SFRY Presidency in most regions and that he obtained most votes in the 115 candidates' conferences in Croatia as well as at the Republican candidates' conference. Kalanj stressed that it is the sovereign right of the Republics and Provinces to elect members of the SFRY Presidency. The purpose of today's session is to see whether we have objections, so that we might send them on to those who have put forward individual personalities as candidates, Kalanj recalled.

Before this point on the agenda was concluded, Branislav Soskic pointed out the constitutional obstacles to the further democratization of society and stressed the need for the elaboration of a new constitution, because this society has prospects only in democratization.

There should now be respect for the established voting timetable and the Republican and Provincial conference of the SAWP should be left to adopt a decision, Soskic said. He observed that it is not clear from the reports on offer whether the procedure went ahead everywhere in a democratic way, which implies in a secret ballot, or whether the Republican conferences or the Presidia had the final word. Soskic also said that reservations about the candidates can be made only if accompanied by an explanation, and the way in which the Croatian SAWP did this, seeking a stable, resolute, and truth-loving candidate, is not acceptable.

There is no dilemma as to who elects candidates, Marjan Kotar said, concluding the debate. But it is our duty to endeavor to create a composition of the Yugoslav presidency appropriate to the character of this organ and which will realize the authority which the collective head of state must have. Here the reputation of its members must be such that they can go to any Republic and Province, Kotar said.

The preliminary voting procedure has been implemented for the first time and we can state that, despite failings, it has made possible the broad influence of working people and citizens on the election of members of the Yugoslav Presidency, Kotar said. Today's voting was not a formal task but part of the procedure designed to make it easier for the Republican and Provincial conferences of the SAWP to adopt final decisions. This is, at the same time, a pressure on the candidates themselves to see, on the basis of these objections, whether they can carry out this responsible function in the federation. [passage omitted]

Moving from Kosovo to other current political questions in the country—the economic and political reforms, the constitutional changes, the international position of the country, and the tasks and role of the SAWP—Hrvatin [Josip Hrvatin, secretary of the SAWPY federal conference] also spoke about the appearance of new social unions, associations and alliances. Without thinking about this in theoretical terms, we view this phenomenon as a spontaneous organization of people, and afterwards alternative movements, and recently political parties. There is no doubt that this is a new phenomenon which, like many before it, has caught us unprepared to react in a way appropriate to the essence of our political system. In his interpretation, we rely mainly on the experience of the political democracies of the bourgeois societies, Hrvatin said.

He said, inter alia, that any established, and especially socially organized criticism contains within itself the possible future appearance of forces which objectively could appear in a historical position as opposition forces or forces which are partners. Hrvatin stressed that advocacy of the introduction of a multiparty system is untenable but, in his opinion, this is not a reason for negating, in a priori terms, new forms of the organization of citizens. A political and bureaucratic ban on their existence would bring us more harm than good.

Hrvatin stressed that the SAWP must be made capable of accumulating the abundance of differing views as an enormous social energy and of taking the best from their mutual confrontation. [passage omitted]

It is necessary that the so-called Vlasi affair be urgently concluded, rakas stressed. According to mass psychology, Kosovo Vlasi could become a martyr. If we previously said that he fought the irredentists, today it should be said openly whether he has faltered and whether he has got caught up in irredentism. This matter should be cleared up once and for all. [passage omitted]

The speech by Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, who, as is well known, failed to attend the session of the Presidium of the Conference yesterday, prompted a great deal of reaction.

Joze Smole, first of all, categorically rejected the wholesale and poorly reasoned attacks on the meeting held the night before last in Ljubljana. "It is certain that at this meeting, there were different shades of views, but we were all against the introduction of an emergency situation and for peace and common sense in Kosovo. In a joint statement, we expressed the belief that the way out of the Kosovo crisis is in the respect for the political, cultural, and linguistic identities of all those who live there, of all nations and nationalities. Respect for fundamental human rights is a condition for the changing and transformation of Yugoslavia into a state with a rule of law", Smole said, and added that "we should, once and for all, put a stop to talk about who is more and who is less for stability in Kosovo. We in Slovenia believe that without stability in Kosovo there is no stability in Yugoslavia. We have also done much in this area, from condemning the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo at the beginning, to significant funds which we earmark for Kosovo. Emigration is continuing and intranational relations have never been so bad, and so we must raise the question of why it is that agreed policy on Kosovo is not being implemented."

In the opinion of Smole, present policy is leading to increasingly bad intranational relations in the country. This is borne out by the latest attacks on Slovenia and Croatia he said. "People are operating with the great traitor, with an anti-Serbian coalition which is in the pay of Greater Albania." Where is all this leading, he asked, and cited the example of the Vulkan Work Organization in Nis which informed the Sava enterprise in Kranj that, owing to the recent events, it does not wish to remain a part of it and nor does it wish its workers to continue to receive their pay via Ljubljana Bank. The thesis is also being used that the Slovenes support Kosovo because they want to milk it. If Serbia obtains Kosovo, there will not be any of this," he said. [no opening quote as received]

Smole protested sharply at the words of Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade Conference of the SAWP, at yesterday's meeting in Belgrade, assessing that "claims that higher ranking bodies of Slovenia and Croatia support Albanian separatism and that demands for considering the responsibility of Suvar and Korosec for allowing foundings of parties were insinuations". Smole said: "let this be proved. This is highly irresponsible. Instead of stabilizing the situation in Kosovo, we bring in divisions and artificially cause intranational conflicts."

Replying to jokes about Rupel's stances, Smole said that "Rupel is responsible for his, and I have expressed my opinion." While advocating pluralism of opinions, he added that the new Yugoslav Constitution must be built on the constitutions of the Socialist Republics, and when we speak about Yugoslavia, we must be clear what kind of Yugoslavia we need—modern or conservative, centralistic or equalatarian, democratic, included in Europe or Autarchic.

Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, was the first to react to Smole's speech by saying that there have been many replies before, but that he is forced to reply now after crude attacks on the SR of Serbia at the meeting in Cankar Hall in Ljubljana, about which embittered people expressed their views at yesterday's meeting in Belgrade. "And after all, we do not want to talk seriously, but we behave aggresively. In the name of the delegation of the SR of Serbia, I express the conviction that we will not tolerate such an attitude from Comrade Smole."

Sharply objecting that the meeting in Ljubljana was held during the time when measures were introduced because the constitutional order was put into jeopardy, Trifunovic said that manipulations and falsehoods about Serbia and the Serbian people were expressed in many speeches. "It could have been heard that the miners there defend the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], that Albanians should be defended against Greater Serbian hegemonism. Who advocates that hegemonism? Is that the Serbian LC? Where do the accusations end?" Trifunovic asked. He continued: "The meeting in Ljubljana was a serious historical mistake. This meeting seriously damaged intranational relations, Serbian-Slovene relations. The people would not believe, would not listen to these accusations that we now bring in discord, and let Smole tell that to the next meeting in Ljubljana," Trifunovic concluded.

In reaction to Trifunovic's speech Smole asked what the slogan 'Smole Down Sloba Up' from the Belgrade meeting meant, and went on to add that he still agrees with what Milan Kucan said at the meeting in Ljubljana.

Bozidar Colakovic, president of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY halted this debate, and said that it will be asked from the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP to assess the meeting in Ljubljana, at which many problematic stances were expressed. [passage omitted]

Milan Daljevic is convinced that the Slovene people do not share Joze Smole's opinion on the temporary measures. He said, among other things, that introduction of a multiparty system must not be permitted, and that pluralism in politics should be provided through the transformation of the Socialist Alliance. [passage omitted]

Vlado Druzinec talked about his doubts regarding Rahman Morina and his conviction that a man who would be trusted by all inhabitants of Kosovo should be found. However, the knowledge that he was the leader of the Provincial secretariat for Internal Affairs for 5 years, and that at the same time there is and there is not a list of organizers, makes one ask what it is about him that has brought Yugoslavia to the brink of a break up, Druzinec said.

Concluding the debate, Bozidar Colakovic said that it was characterized by the stance that a single approach to the problem of Kosovo must finally be adopted for which unity of leaderships is a condition.

Colakovic noted that since it was assessed that the temporary measures were necessary, support should be given to them, and this period should be used to ensure the speediest possible functioning of the entire system in the province. It would not be good to express reserve about the temporary measures in the name of some democracy. They were undertaken on the basis of the facts which we know, and some which we do not know.

The session concluded that presidents of the Republican and Provincial Organizations of the SAWP and members of the Federal conference should be at disposal of the Provincial organization in order to come to Kosovo as required. They will help in the political action and in implementing stances adopted today, which will be published after being supplemented.

It is demanded that the Slovene SAWP critically assess the meeting in the Cankar Hall, and make the assessment public, in order to halt gatherings and mass protests. We shall provide information, Dusan Semolic said in conclusion, but we want to know how the leaderships reacted in environments where slogans against Slovens could be heard.

Crowd Gathers Outside SFRY Assembly Building

15,000 Estimated

LD0103123389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—At about noon today, the security organs outside the SFRY Assembly building allowed organized groups from Belgrade to join the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who this morning have been protesting in the Pionirski Park opposite the assembly building. In so doing they met the wishes of the people from Kosovo who beforehand had been chanting "Let our brothers pass through." The moment the groups "merged" the crowd burst out singing the Yugoslav anthem Hej Sloveni. The crowd is estimated at 15,000 people.

'Peaceful' Atmosphere

AU0103164789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Here is a report from Dragan Stavljanin outside the SFRY Assembly building:

About 2,000 [as heard] citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from Kosovo, who have been arriving in Belgrade since this morning, are still in Pionirski Park in front of the SFRY Assembly building.

The organizational committee has still not formulated its demands that it will present to the highest state and party leaders of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

In the meantime, numerous people from Belgrade have joined the people from Kosovo in Pionirski Park. The atmosphere is peaceful and dignified. Yugoslav state and party flags are flying as well as the Serbian flag. Serbian and Montenegrin national songs are being sung and there are chants of support for the Serbian leadership.

Here are two of the slogans that are being shouted: Kosovo is Serbia, and we will not give up Kosovo. The participants in the meeting are also shouting: Yugoslavia, and brotherhood, and unity.

Let us once again inform the numerous people from Belgrade who want to offer hospitality to the people from Kosovo that they should contact their communal SAWP conferences.

8,000 Remain Outside Assembly

AU0103191189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Several thousand citizens are still gathered in the center of our capital city. Let's listen to an update by Dusan Ostojic.

We are reporting from Pionirski park in the center of Belgrade. All those Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who arrived in the capital city this morning, are still here. With the Belgrade people who are also present, there are about 8,000 or perhaps 10,000 people here.

Although the most senior Serbian leaders accepted all the demands of the Kosovo people in Pionirski park a short while ago, the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo are not getting into the buses that are parked alongside the Serbian Assembly which should take them home.

The meeting in Pionirski park is taking place in a calm and dignified way in the presence of security organs. There have been mainly patriotic and Yugoslav manifestations.

We should say that after the adoption of the demands, there were no other speeches to the participants in the meeting nor has there been any new official information.

We have just been informed that students from the Veljko Vlahovic students town have just arrived at Marx and Engels Square. They have also supported the demands that were formulated today.

Protesters Disperse

AU0103213789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] According to the latest update by our reporters, most of the participants at the protest meeting in Pionirski park have dispersed. Students and pupils have left the square in front of the assembly building and the Serbs and Montenegrins who arrived from Kosovo this morning will spend the night in the student area. Traffic is back to normal along Revolution Boulevard outside the assembly building.

'Last Group' of Protesters Leaves

LD0203065189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0619 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—The last group of some 800 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo out of a total of 5,000 who had come to take part in a protest rally in front of the assembly of Yugoslavia here yesterday embarked on buses and left for Kosovo early today.

They made up their minds about returning to their homes only after a talk of some length with Zoran Andjelkovic, a member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and Milomir Minic, executive secretary of Serbia's party Presidency.

In the talk held in the sports Pionir Hall here, Minic and Andjelkovic emphasised that Serbia's leadership supports demands set out by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins today and will try hard to have them carried into practice.

Belgrade Conference Appeals for No Gatherings

LD0103200289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—The city conference of the Belgrade SAWP issued a statement today with the appeal to the citizens of Belgrade to refrain from new gatherings and thus contribute to efforts to solve the already difficult situation in the country.

Yesterday's mass and dignified meeting of workers, students, and citizens of Belgrade expressed in the best way their feelings and resolute demands that only by the consistent implementation of the LCY policy and the etablished measures could the constitutionality, legality, and equality of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo be ensured, it is stated in the communique.

Considering that the demands voiced at the meeting were accepted by the Serbian leadership and the most responsible state and party organs of the federation, fresh gatherings, such as the one today of schoolchildren of a number of schools, jeopardizes the realization of the established stands and conclusions and thus the general political situation, the communique by the Belgrade SAWP city conference stresses.

Belgrade Youth Group Issues Statement on Kosovo

AU0203090089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Last night, the Presidium of the City Conference of the Belgrade League of Socialist Youth issued a statement which reads as follows:

The youth of Belgrade, pupils, students, and workers, today we are, as we have always been, in the front line of our joint struggle for the survival, happiness, and future of Yugoslavia.

The magnificent meeting that took place in Belgrade on 28 February 1989, which was led by the youth, clearly demonstrated that we will not bargain with anybody over the unity of Yugoslavia, the equal status of Serbia, and the peaceful dreams of youth in Kosovo.

The leadership of the SR of Serbia has clearly and energetically accepted all our demands. These demands have also been recognized by the highest leadership of Yugoslavia. Therefore, all the aims of our protest have been met for the time being.

Any other gathering, the public expression of dissatisfaction, and stopping work and classes will not contribute to the realization of our joint aim. On the contrary, the enemy of Serbia and Yugoslavia will try to make use of such acts. Let us return to our studies and work. Let us preserve order and peace in Belgrade. In this way we will help the realization of all our demands.

This was stated in the statement issued by the Belgrade Youth Organization.

Kosovo Presidency Order Restricts Movement

LD0103175189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1703 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—An order has come into effect in Kosovo whereby movement in Kosovo is restricted and public gatherings of large numbers of people in order to demonstrate or protest have been banned. This was stated in an announcement which has just been published. The full text of the announcement reads: "In keeping with the Kosovo Presidency's assessment that the emergency circumstances threatening public order in the province are still continuing, the Kosovo Executive Council passed a resolution at its session last night that the provincial secretary for internal affairs should restrict by decree or ban the movement and gathering or entrance to public places of persons intending to protest or demonstrate.

"This decree restricts movement and bans gatherings of large numbers of persons in public places for the purpose of demonstrating or protesting, as well as the arrival in Kosovo of persons or groups who intend to gather in order to demonstrate or protest. The Executive Council's decision has come into effect in the form of a decree from the provincial secretary for internal affairs which was passed today. The implementation of this is ensured by the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

"The Executive Council is calling on the working people, citizens, students, and school children of all nations and nationalities to contribute to successfully overcoming the situation which has arisen and stabilizing the political and security circumstances in Kosovo and further afield by their work, commitment, behavior, and high degree of vigilance."

Kosovo Situation 'Calming Down' After Measures

AU0203074889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is calming down. After the SFRY Presidency's order to introduce special measures there are the first signs of normalization. Shops are open in all cities in the province. Work is also expected to resume in the Trepca mines which have not been working for the last 10 days.

Kosovo LC Presidium Session Issues Communique

LD0103222589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee (PC) thinks that the present ideo-political activity and work of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija do not provide any ground for their resignations because they have clearly confirmed that they follow the course of the LCY policy. The resignations were extorted and tendered under pressure for human reasons and in respect of the lives and health of the miners. This is one of the conclusions of the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, which examined the political and security situation in the province. The communique issued this evening reads:

On 28 February,the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, in its expanded number, discussed the political security situation in the province. It noted that the political and security situation in Kosovo was extremely exacerbated with danger of intranational conflicts with unforseeable consequences. The already serious situation caused by the miners' strike in Trepca and in many other work ogranizations, has been further burdened by the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, causing the eruption of dissatisfaction among Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and others in the country.

After the introduction of special measures in Kosovo by the SFRY Presidency, and after the publishing of the stances of the SFRY Presidency about resolving the current problems in Kosovo and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the situation in Kosovo became relatively quiet. At the session held on 1 March 1989, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium established priority tasks for activity of organs, organizations, and every LC member, which are on the following lines:

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium is united and resolute to persist in implementing the overall tasks of the 9th, 16th, and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee, regardless of opposition which has been expressed these days, as well as tasks established by the 20th and 21st sessions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. The only way to stabilize the political situation in Kosovo is energetic, consistent, and unhesitant implementation in all environments of the stances and tasks about Kosovo established by the LCY Central Committee, and which were made more concrete by the action program of the Provincial Committee and assessments and stances about the November events.

This concerns, above all, activities of the LC and other socio-political organizations for stabilizing intranational relations, restoring intranational trust and providing equality and freedom for all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. For this purpose, it is necessary to establish and consolidate a united socialist front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and other nations and nationalities living in Kosovo, in the fight against Albanian separatist nationalism and all other nationalism.

Proceedings from the assessment whereby the political and security situation in the socialist autonomous province of Kosovo has become exacerbated and some activities are directly threatening the social system established by the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency has taken special measures for the protection of the constitutional system, public peace and order, personal and material security of all citizens and social property, especially in installations important for the functioning of the economy in Kosovo, and for the normalization of the work of state organs and organizations in the economy and social affairs.

Assessing them as justified, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium charges all the organs and organizations of the LC and communists in other organs, organizations, and institutions of the system in Kosovo with the task of the consistent and energetic implementation of the endorsed measures. In this respect it is a necessary prerequisite to halt all work stoppages in work organizations, educational and training institutions, as well as to halt all forms of protest gatherings, because this leads to the further exacerbation of the already difficult and complex situation. This is primarily the task of the organizations of the LC and the SAWP, the TU federation, the youth organization, and administrative organs. It is a vital prerequisite for solving and examining all the problems, demands, and proposals of working people and citizens within the legal institutions of the system under normal circumstances and in a democratic way.

The public information media, which must serve the purpose of a faster stabilization of the situation and mobilization of all working people and citizens who are on the course of the line and politics of the LCY, have a special role. Ideo-political and cadre measures should be undertaken immediately to secure this.

The LC Provincial Committee Presidium demands from the competent state organs, to undertake immediately all legal measures against organizers and exponents of the behind-the-scene politics in Kosovo, who used pressures and even misused the lives and health of the Stari Trg miners to achieve aims which are against the LC and against the SFRY.

The Provincial Committee Presidium will consistently further implement the stance of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that the method of blackmail and pressure cannot be accepted in the cadre policy for achieving political and other aims. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium regards that the previous ideo-political activities and work of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija do not provide the bases for resignations, because they confirmed clearly that they support LCY policies. The resignations were forced and submitted under pressure for humane reasons and because of lives and health of the miners.

The LC Provincial Committee Presidium supports all true and real fighters for implementation of the LCY policy on Kosovo, and this must be the basic criterion for assessing forced resignations of the Comrades Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija.

The LC organs will consider on the basis of arguments and facts these resignations and make appropriate decisions, by taking into account everything and looking responsibly at all circumstances, causes and effects, and by following the line of the strengthening of the unity, stabilizing international relations, and securing resolute implementation of the LCY policy.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium stresses once more that it supports the changes of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and demands that they be adopted as soon as possible, so that the SR of Serbia could realize its functions and competence on its entire territory, because these changes do not bring into question autonomy of the provinces and equality of nations and nationalities. The Presidium especially draws attention to obligations of Kosovo LC organs and organizations to advocate energetically elimination of undemocratic pressures on institutions to decide about the changes of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. The situation demands that the LC political work among the people, workers, and youth be consolidated. The implementation of tasks should contribute to the correct interpretation of the LCY politics, prevention of divisions on a national basis and unmasking of the counterrevolutionary aims and slogans of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which aims at paralyzing economic and political life in Kosovo and creating a dangerous hotbed of destabilization of the SFRY.

At the same time, persistent struggle is necessary against every other nationalistic activity, against creation of anti-Albanian and anti-Serbian moods and for ensuring security of Serbs, Montenegrins, and others in Kosovo.

The latest events express resistance to the LCY politics and attempts to prevent its consistent implementation in life. The Kosovo LC provincial committee Presidium is of the opinion that a solution to the Kosovo crisis can be achieved by a consistent and energetic implementation of the established LCY policy, tasks of the Serbian LC and Kosovo LC.

Announced resignations of a greater number of cadres in the LC organs, state and self-managing organs, and other institutions of the system from the ranks of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, are their own personal decisions, as expressions of disagreement with the manner of extracting resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, as well as expressions of disagreement with tendencies to continue the policy which has brought us in the difficult situation.

While understanding the reasons of the comrades who announced resignations, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium adopted the stance that in the complex situation they should stay at their posts, keep doing their duties, and give a full contribution to a united activity of cadres on stabilization of the situation and consistent implementation of the LCY Policy. Resignations are not a solution the current situation.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium obliges organs and organizations of the Kosovo LC, LC organizations in other social political organizations, communists in state organs and organizations, self-managing interest communities, organizations of associated labor, educational-upbringing, cultural, and scientific institutions, especially at the Pristina University, information activities and in all other institutions of the system to assess their own collective and individual responsibility, and on the basis of that to undertake measures of cadre consolidation, including changes of cadres at responsible posts, as well as measures of ideo-political responsibility.

To overcome the difficult situation and harmful consequences caused by the strike of the Stari trg miners and other work organizations in Kosovo, as well as to eliminate effects brought about afterward, the Provincial Committee Presidium obliges organs and organizations of the Kosovo LC, and especially communists and managing structures in organizations of associated labor, to immediately assess reasons, causes, aims, and consequences of the work stoppage, review their own responsibility and initiate the widest possible political activity for overcoming the present situation.

In that respect it is necessary to undertake all ideopolitical and other measures, including cadre changes. LC organs in Titova, Mitovica, and the Trepca combined organization of asosciated labor have special responsibilities and obligations for urgent overcoming of the difficult situation caused by the strike of the Stari Trg miners.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium will become involved as directly as possible in the consistent implementation of this activity.

Hasani Denies Capitulation to Nationalists

LD2802221689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Sinan Hasani, member of the SFRY Presidency, said at today's session of the Kovoso LC Provincial Committee Presidium that the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija were not a capitulation to nationalists and separatists. The resignations came, above all, as a result of human considerations because human lives were in danger. The most pressing task, Hasani continued, is for the people who were or still are on strike to return to work and for schoolchildren to return to school. Otherwise there will be unforseeable consequences for the development of the province, Sinan Hasani warned.

Kosovo Writers Protest 'Anti-Albanian Hysteria'

LD2802224989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2009 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Writers of Albanian nationality from Kosovo sent a message to the SFRY Presidency and the LC Central Committee Presidium this evening from the fourth protest evening protesting the "anti-Albanian hysteria manifested in the course of the day during so-called people's meetings throughout Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina and also before your very eyes, exorting in this way repressive measures for the settlement of the situation in Kosovo."

"The Albanian writers of the Kosovo Writers' Association," as stated in the signature, are also protesting the motives of the striking miners "of Albanian and other nationalities from Kosovo." They maintain that the assessment formulated as "manipulation and counterrevolution on the part of Albanian nationalists" does not correspond to the true state of affairs. This hysteria, the message reads, "is directed against the Albanian people in Kosovo and others in Yugoslavia who will not be defeated by it and who strive toward democracy, freedom, and equality."

Director Says Trepca Miners Resume Production

LD0203095289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0907 GMT 02 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Production resumed this morning in the Trepca mines of Kisnica and Novo Brdo, where miners of Albanian nationality held an 8-day strike. Workers and miners of Albanian, Serbian, and Montengrin nationality are working today, Sefedin Kastrati, acting technical director of the Proizvodnja basic organization of associated labor, said to TANJUG. [passage omitted]

Serbian Defense Commission Meets on Situation

LD2802224289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Tito's Yugoslavia was attacked insolently and perfidiously by various nationalists, alternative movements, and especially by the Albanian separatist movement, the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection assessed today. The session is open to the public, which is contrary to the established practice.

After they considered the current political and security situation, members of the commission sent a demand to the country's party and state leadership to expose a platform of those, as they put it, who state that they do not wish to live in Yugoslavia and oppose measures which the state leadership has undertaken to defend the constitution order of the country. Members of the commission rejected as slander and disinformation the thesis that an anti-Albanian, anti-Slovene, and anti-Croatian mood prevails in Serbia. Last night's meeting in Ljubljana is especially condemned as an insolent attack on the achievements of the National Liberation War, Tito's Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav People's Army and Tito, which, it was said, borders on treason against the country. Members of the commission also concluded that they do not accept the resignations of Sukrija, Morina, and Azemi, and that the organizers of the latest protests in Kosovo should be found and criminally and judicially prosecuted.

The adoption of the conclusion was preceded by a vehement discussion which was nevertheless united in its assessment of the situation which, as put by the chairman of the commission Lieutenant-Colonel-General Miodrag Ivanovic, irritates to such extent that every honest citizen in Yugoslavia is asking: What is happening? Why are all those who do not care for this country and who have contributed little to its creation raising their heads? Ivanovic said that the Trepca miners' demands are unjustified, and that the miners themselves are obedient tools of separatists in their attempts to break up Yugoslavia. Ivanovic noted that the prompt support of the top party leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia for the Kosovo miners is suprising, and especially since it did not contain a single word condemning those who coerced the miners in the shafts. Ivanovic said that the Ljubljana meeting was in its spirit and letter anti-Yugoslav and anti-Tito, and that it resembled in many aspects the monstrous processes organized after the war in the East European countries to condemn Yugoslavia.

According to Marko Spiric, after the Ljubljana meeting it must be clear to everyone why the counterrevolution in Kosovo has lasted for 8 years. That meeting was an obvious support for the Republic of Kosovo, but not within Yugoslavia, and a condemnation of the leadership of the country and the LC, whose right to take measures to protect the constitutional set-up of the country is denied. According to Spiric, comparing Albanians to Jews is like equating the politics of the Serbian leadership with Hitler's politics.

What was said in Ljubljana has not been said at any Ustasha and Cetnik meeting in Sydney or in any other hotbed of enemy emigration. After all, why didn't they gather in Slovenia when Macedonian and Bosnian workers were harassed, and when the Labin miners were on strike, Spiric asked. [passage omitted]

The majority of participants in the discussion agreed with the assessment that the Ljubljana meeting shows that certain parts of the LCY and parts of the country represented by them are no longer prepared to live in Yugoslavia with other nations and nationalities, and that they welcome the Kosovo drama so that they can reshape the map of Yugoslavia.

Milisav Parezanovic, Serbian civil protection headquarters commander, categorically asserted that what has been happening over the last few days, and especially last night's meeting in Ljubljana, represents not only support for the counterrevolution in Kosovo, but treason to the country. He asked that legal sanctions against the organizers of the demonstrations in Kosovo be undertaken immediately.

In connection with this demand, Slobodan Mikic, Serbian republican secretary for national defense, requested that criminal charges be brought against Azem Vlasi, Abrasi, and Kavaja, as well as that an initiative be started for the dismissal of Kucan, Racan, and Smole. Mikic said that the current situation makes Yugoslavia the most unstable and most endangered country in Europe.

Proposals were heard at the session that the Serbian LC Presidium considers, as Milan Nikolic put it, the possibility of disbanding the Kosovo LC, because true differentiation would only be possible after that.

Members of the commission adopted the assessment that moral and political situation in the territorial defense in the Serbia proper is very good and stable, despite unfavorable socioeconomic and political circumstances.

Serbian SAWP Criticizes Suvar Candidacy

LD0103150689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0959 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference has criticized Stipe Suvar's candidacy for membership of the SFRY Presidency. Dragan Milicevic, representative of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, said at today's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference that Suvar has lost the confidence of the people in Serbia and that it would not be a good thing for him to be a member of the collective Presidency. The Republican conference of the Serbian SAWP also criticized the candidacy of Remzi Koljgeci, from Kosovo, as a possbile new member of the SFRY Presidency. A similar view was expressed by Sava Ivancevic representative of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference about the candidacies of Suvar and Koljgeci.

Marjan Kalanj, a representative of the Croatian SAWP Republican Conference, reacted to this by saying that it is the sovereign right of every Republican and Provincial organization of the SAWP to propose its own candidates, and that Suvar was proposed in Croatia in the most democratic way and had received a majority of votes at all levels of voting.

Andjelkovic Calls Kosovo Events 'High Treason'

LD0103231589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2202 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 1 (TANJUG)—The recent events in Kosovo are not only an economic counter-revolution and political putsch but high treason against Yugoslavia, member of the top Serbian party leadership Zoran Andjelkovic told a protest rally of Serbian and Montenegrin miners at Kisnica, Kosovo Province, on Wednesday.

The organizers of the recent eight-day strike of ethnic Albanian miners in mine pits must be brought into court to answer for their actions, said Andjelkovic. A guarantee of this, among other things, is the statement by Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic at yesterday's rally of citizens, workers and students in Belgrade, he noted.

Nobody can submit resignations under pressure and for this reason Raan Oorina still heads the Kosovo communists, emphasized Andjelkovic.

The Kosovo trade union organization on Wednesday appealed to the workers of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo to return to work immediately, since the overall economic activity in the province is endangered by the latest work stoppages on a massive scale.

At the peak of mass strikes in Kosovo, between february 24 and 27, some 50,000 workers were out of production every day, and as many as 1.6 million working hours have been lost.

The entrance to the pits at the Stari Trg mine, the epicentre of recent developments, is currently under police control and only teams of workers checking the machines and equipment are allowed into the pits.

Of the 1,300 miners who stayed underground for eight days, 75 are in a sanatorium at Stari Trg, 74 in a hospital in Titova Mitrovica and three in a hospital in Pristina.

Schools with instruction in Serbo-Croatian are either closed or working with half the usual attendance, parents have sent their children to safer places outside the province due to the situation.

The president of the Kosovo Education Committee stressed that there was no room for panic and appealed to parents and students to stop boycotting the classes.

A growing number of Serbs and Montenegrins in the province resigned their posts over the past 24 hours, as a reaction to the recent resignations submitted by three top Kosovo and Pristina officials to meet a demand made by the striking miners as a condition to leave the pits.

Serbian, Slovene Writers Break Off Ties

LD2802204689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Beginning today, the Serbian Writers' Association breaks off all relations with the Slovene Writers' Association, states a telegram sent to the Slovene writers' group by the administration of the Serbian writers' organization. The reason for this move are the Slovene writers' participation in the Ljubljana meeting and their taking sides with the enemies of Serbia.

We accuse you of betraying the traditional, historical, and predestined friendship between our two nations, say the Serbian writers to their Slovene colleagues. Just as you cannot mention rope in the home of a hanged man, so you cannot mention the Jasenovac ditch to the Serbian people [Jasenovac was a concentration camp]. The Serbian people did not go to the Jasenovac ditch voluntarily, and they were unable to get out of it, the telegram states.

Stanovnik Addresses Slovenes on Ljubljana Radio

LD2802235689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1928 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—We are living through crucial moments for the survival and development of our common homeland, the SFRY, stated Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the Slovenian SR, addressing the inhabitants of Slovenia on Ljubljana radio and television this evening in connection with the latest events in Kosovo and yesterday's meeting in Ljubljana's Cankarev Dom. He stressed that the Kosovo drama has been at the center of concern of all of us for a long time. Here I am thinking, Stanovnik said, of all the inhabitants of this strife-ridden province, the Albanian majority in the province, as well as the Serbian and Montenegrin minority and others.

Saying that the events of the past week have particularly shaken the inhabitants of Slovenia, Stanovnik said that the demands for the mass expression of solidarity appeared spontaneously throughout the republic. It is precisely this mass concern, according to Stanovnik, that is the best proof that Slovenes see their future tied up with the future of all of Yugoslavia and in this sense, particularly its most threatened part. In this atmosphere, the SAWP yesterday organized a meeting in Cankarev Dom, which Stanovnik assessed as the expression of Slovenes' concern for life and togetherness in Kosovo, and thus also for the development of democratic relations, equality, and all those principles on which Tito's federative and socialist Yugoslavia was built.

This meeting demonstrated, Stanovnik said, that the Slovene political leadership, which is monolithic and united in the struggle for socialism in Yugoslavia, has the mass support of the broadest popular masses and above all of the working class. For Stanovnik, this was a broad-based meeting at which speakers who, apart from expressing their joint concern, also expressed their own views. Unfortunately, these views frequently had nothing to do with the problem of Kosovo. Today throughout Yugoslavia we are living in conditions of an awakened people, Stanovnik said, and here we hear and listen to views with which we do not agree.

This meeting caused anxiety among the inhabitants of some other parts of Yugoslavia, who evidently ascribed greater importance to some of the personal views of individuals so that they failed to perceive the fundamental message coming from this meeting, which was: A united, socialist, democratic, and federative Yugoslavia. This, Stanovnik assessed, led to the mass protest meetings in the other parts of Yugoslavia, where immoderate statements and even threats could be heard. In this situation, I appeal to all of you and ask you, Stanovnik said, to understand the seriousness of the time and to approach things sensibly and with tolerance. Emotional and mass protests, according to Stanovnik, open the door to possible provocation, which could have catastrophic consequences. Understanding the anxiety and concern of all those who have at heart the Slovenian SR and the SFRY as a common homeland, Stanovnik said that we should have confidence in ourselves and the joint conviction that we must preserve unity with regard to fundamental orientations, respect the constitutional system, and ensure order. Respect for the constitutional system enables us, Stanovnik stressed, to organize life in the republic to suit people. In the federation, we organize what we opt for in terms of what we have in common and in a united and equal way.

Janez Stanovnik was strongly convinced that the way out of the crisis was through reforms, which should make the system economically more efficient and such that we could enjoy our freedom. Everyone, including us in the Slovene leadership, Stanovnik said, feels this above all as the expression of the deepest interests of our working people.

Addressing all the Yugoslavs, Stanovnik stressed that hundreds of thousands of signatures collected yesterday and today throughout Slovenia were not directed against anyone, but were calling for fraternal fellowship in Kosovo and throughout Yugoslavia. These signatures were the expression of the conviction that our future cannot be sought in mutual conflicts, in fometing hostility and irrational emotions, but the other way around, in fraternal fellowship and mutual respect. In the past, hatred led to tragic consequences, said Stanovnik, and we grey-haired people still remember it.

Words are getting stuck in my throat. The feeling of terrible responsibility does not allow me to express myself freely. Let us altogether come to a halt while there is still time, said Stanovnik concluding his statement, stressing that only democracy, respect for human dignity, and mutual differences and equality could be the guarantee that the passions that have flared up would not effect people's minds and reason.

Smole Addresses 27 Feb Slovene SAWP Session

LD0103120489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Although the item was not on the agenda, the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP today focused its attention on the events in Stari Trg. In his introductory address, Joze Smole, president of the Slovene Socialist Alliance, quoted a letter from Professor Janko Kostnapfel, head of the chair of psychiatry at Ljubljana Faculty of Medicine, who, among other things, makes the assessment that this is not an exhibitionist suicide, but only a cry for help.

Joze Smole said that the miners' demands were political, and that, perhaps, as one of the leading Yugoslav officials put it, it was a political ultimatum. But that cannot be reason not to put the basic human aspect before anything else. According to him, there obviously must be profound reasons why 1,300 Trepca miners should decide to persist with a sit-in under exceptionally difficult conditions. I think, Smole added, that regardless of the political initiatives of the strike, the greatest respect must be shown to the miners, who are displaying "a high level of resolve to show defiance in such difficult conditions."

In the case of the strike by the Trepca miners, there were long delays before serious negotiations were undertaken and this was bound to have serious consequences, Joze Smole assessed. We are confident that, given goodwill, we can devise an appropriate solution, and we demand most resolutely, Smole went on to say, that a joint solution be found through political wisdom and human endeavor, thereby preventing the danger of the worst possible tragedy from occurring.

Smole went on to point out that they have always denounced the application of double standards. He went on to say that we cannot agree that demonstrations by a section of the Serb and Montenegrin nations which bring down legal institutions of our political system be proclaimed the loftiest form of democracy and an authentic expression of the will of the people, while every meeting of members of the Albanian nationality and every strike by Albanian workers is immediately labeled as a hostile, nationalistic, irredentist, and a counterrevolutionary act designed to destroy the integrity of the SR of Serbia and of the SFRY.

The problem of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, especially since 1981, has always been experienced by the Slovene people "and by all citizens of Slovenia" as a common Yugoslav problem, Smole said. We were and are concerned by the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo under political duress and we supported all the measures to prevent those uncivilized actions. This is why we shall continue to do everything to support the legitimate rights of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. In Slovenia we always had sympathies with the Serbs, Montenegrins, Romanies, and other non-Albanian peoples in the SAP of Kosovo. We advocated thorough respect for the equality of all citizens of Kosovo, regardless of their nationality. According to Smole, the difficult drama against the background of the now completely disrupted interethnic relations in Kosovo can be overcome only by consistently asserting the coexistence of all citizens, by consolidating the state based on civil law, by consistently respecting the equality of all nations and nationalities, and by fully affirming the rights and freedoms of all citizens.

We denounced any anti-Albanian sentiments just as we denounced any anti-Serb sentiments, Smole said. We want a healthy and modern Yugoslav socialist community in which no nation or nationalitiy will have the feeling that it is underrated. There was a great deal of understanding in the SR of Slovenia for the SR of Serbia to be constitutionally equal. We were aware, he added, that the feelings of the Serb nation that its socialist republic in some aspects was not equal to other republics represented an impediment in our Yugoslav community and that this has to be removed as soon as possible. That is why we are concerned that some quite justified amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia are interpreted in specific environments as an abolition of autonomy in the SAP's of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Joze Knez, vice president of the Slovene Assembly, read the appeal by the representatives of the Slovene Assembly. The appeal expresses a resolute demand that the demands of the miners should be met in the name of humanism and of the basic human rights of the working people to whom the Constitution has given all the power.

Since Kosovo is not only a socialist autonomous province within the SR of Serbia, but a constituent part of the Yugoslav Federation, we feel we are sharing responsibility for the future of the situation in Kosovo, because Kosovo is an integral part of our future, the future of Yugoslavia. This is why we demand, the appeal by the representatives of the Slovene Assembly says, that the SFRY Assembly, as the highest democratic organ of authority and of social self-management of Yugoslavia, be convened at once to assess the situation and to pass the necessary measures in order to bring to an end the drama of the Trepca miners.... [passage omitted]

After the discussion, members of the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference were invited to sign the statement "Against the Introduction of the State of Emergency and for Peace and Coexistence in Kosovo" which was published today in the public information media in the Republic. Concluding the debate, Joze Smole said that the threats of holding demonstrations and collective emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins are still worrying. This is an indication of the complexity of interethnic relations. Smole also believes that a session of the SFRY Assembly should be convened because he believes that Kosovo cannot and must not only be a "party" problem and that the troop delegate body should have a decisive word on that. [passage omitted]

The proposal that 25 December, that is Christmas, should be a nonworking day was also discussed during the session. The feeling of the discussion was that there was no doubt that Christmas is not only a religious but also a popular family holiday and a holiday encompassing general civilizational sentiments. In summing up the discussion held during the past few years and the session today, the Presidium proposed that 25 December should be a nonworking day and that as such it should be open to all forms of being freely observed and celebrated. It was proposed that the Executive Council and the Republican Assembly should start proceedings for an appropriate legal solution as regards 25 December and that the issue should be resolved as early as this year.

BORBA on Smole Address

AU0103172089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 89 p 4

[Veselin Simonovic report: "Lives Before Politics"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Feb—"More than 1,000 very depressed miners are threatening suicide from deep down in Yugoslavia's soil, although they have not actually said it. There is only a call, an appeal for help. When did our most responsible officials respond to the workers class threatening cries for help, and how? Perhaps they want to cause the biggest, joint fatalist suicide in the history of mankind?" This statement by psychiatrist Dr Janko Kostnafl, Joze Smole said at today's session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, represents the thoughts and feelings of all the citizens of Slovenia. The discussion that took place at the Presidium session was more or less along the same lines. Among other things, the session, addressed sharp criticisms to the SFRY Presidency and LCY Central Committee for their inability, opportunism, and compromising attitudes in solving everyday problems in Kosovo.

The fact that the demands of the miners are of a political nature, that they are perhaps a political ultimatum, as a leading Yugoslav official pointed out, should not be reason not to put the basic human aspect factor before anything else, Joze Smole said in his introductory speech.

"I think, regardless of the political motives of this strike, that utmost respect must be paid to the miners who are displaying such a high level of consciousness and endurance under such difficult conditions. From the very beginning of the strike, the citizens of the SR of Slovenia, from the human point of view, logically expected that the responsible people from the commune, province, Serbia, and the federation, would start serious talks with the miners. In the case of Trepca miners, there were long delays before serious negotiations were held, which was bound to result in serious consequences. Although it is already too late, we are convinced that we can devise a suitable solution, and not just that. We most resolutely demand that a joint solution be found through all the political wisdom available and in this way prevent the danger of the worst possible tragedy occurring. The defense of human life must be given the top priority. This priority must have precedence over any political or ideological discussions."

Smole also replied to criticism made in other communities over similar protests. "We in Slovenia are reproached for having taken critical attitudes toward mass demonstrations, particularly in Novi Sad and Titograd, which overthrew legitimate institutions, and for only supporting the demands that the political ultimatum of the Trepca miners be met. We most categorically denounce these criticisms as completely unfounded."

Polde Bibic started his speech by criticizing the top state and party organs stressing that in his view the people in these organs are not able to solve Kosovo problems. According to Vjekoslav Grmic, issues in Kosovo have not been resolved, which was the reason the miners went underground. In his view the hunger strike by the Trepca miners is the consequence of the meetings in Serbia and slogans heard at them, as well as of demagoguery and setting Serbs against Albanians. The first task, Grmic said, is to save people's lives. In his view the Yugoslav leadership is not able to solve this problem, because instead of being in Kosovo today, they are sending statements to the miners. This is why he proposed that if they cannot save their lives they ought to resign immediately.

In Mojca Drcar-Murko's view, the events in Kosovo are a moral catastrophe for our society and leadership. She compared the hunger strike with Gandhi's passive resistance in India. According to Janko Kostnafl, the fact that the top officials did not reply to the miners is a punishable act. He also warned that in the history of the mankind there have only been two mass suicides and that this one in Kosovo would be the third and the biggest suicide, the suicide of miners and workers in Socialist Yugoslavia.

Ciril Zlobec warned that one must first sort things out on one's own door step: "There are Slovenes in all federal forums and I would like to know what they are doing when their protests are not heard. The Slovene representatives should demand that their views, views that are different from this policy, be heard in public." Judging by the latest reaction by the federal and Serbian organs, Zlobec concluded, the "policy of the most populous nation has finally been become prevalent in Yugoslavia." Neither Suvar nor Dizdarevic, he said, dared say anything different to the Serbian leadership. Zlobec described Solevic's statements as a direct call to overthrow the constitutional order, and expressed his surprise that nobody had started criminal proceedings against him, and that if anything, he is regarded as a hero. Zlobec drew a conclusion that all this represents the end to Tito's and Kardelj's Yugoslavia of equal peoples and nationalities and a return to the pre-war Yugoslavia. The difference between the slogan "Death to Vlasi" and Khomeyni's judgment on Rushdie, Zlobec stressed, lies in the fact that we are a poor country and did not put a price on his head.

During a break, all the Presidium members signed the statement opposing the introduction of the state of emergency, and for peace and togetherness in Kosovo. In addition to the Republican SAWP, the statement was also signed by all Slovene sociopolitical organizations, new alliances, associations, societies, groups, and so forth.

Slovene Assembly Appeals for Strike Resolution

LD2702155689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Slovenian SR Assembly today made an appeal to the Slovene and Yugoslav public and to the SFRY Assembly, which was read out at a session of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium by Joze Knez; vice president of the assembly. The appeal makes the resolute demand that, in the name of humanism and the basic human rights of the working man, who has authority vested in him by the Constitution and is proclaimed to be the foundation of our socialist system, those demands of the miners should be adopted which are a condition for their coming out of the pit, so that a normal dialogue can be established with them and the other working people and citizens of Kosovo—Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and members of other nations and nationalities—in a democratic way and within the framework of the legally established social institutions to resolve all issues and problems in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

The appeal also makes a demand for the SFRY Assembly to meet immediately as the top democratically elected organ of power and social self-management of the SFRY and the legitimate representative of all our nations and nationalities and of their socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to assess the position and adopt all the necessary measures to end the drama of the Trepca miners and to ensure normal life and activity for institutions of the political system in Kosovo.

Slovenes Protest Kosovo State of Emergency

AU0103143389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Feb 89 p 1

[Statement by Slovene sociopolitical and cultural organizations: "Against the Introduction of the State of Emergency"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Feb—The events in Kosovo in recent days have finally opened the eyes of anyone who still may have doubts about the results of the policy of interethnic tensions, forcible imposition of uniformity, and search for enemies: This policy leads to tragic and suicidal forms of protest, which themselves provide the best evidence that communication has become impossible, and finally to a state of emergency and interventions by repressive organs. We are witnessing an unprecedentedly serious threat to Yugoslavia as a free community of peoples and nationalities.

By signing this statement, we, the citizens of the SR of Slovenia express:

our complete human solidarity with the striking Kosovo miners: All human sacrifice that could lead to a tragedy of unprecedented dimensions must be prevented;

and our most rigorous disagreement with the policy that has inevitably resulted in an extreme deterioration and exacerbation of conditions in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and our entire state, and especially with the irresponsible, politically unwise, and humanly insensitive actions of the highest political and state organs of the SFRY, the SR of Serbia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo which have done nothing to resolve the present conflict but, on the contrary, have contributed to an escalation of tensions and uncertainty.

We are firmly convinced that the way to solving the Kosovo and Yugoslav crisis can only be found:

in recognizing the autonomous political, economic, and cultural character and the equality of all peoples and nationalities living in the SFRY;

in ensuring and respecting the fundamental human, civic, and national rights and liberties in all parts of the SFRY;

in turning Yugoslavia into a law-governed state where political differences are not criminalized and where crime is a matter for the prosecution organs and not a pawn in political battles;

and in asserting the spirit of tolerance and of awareness of the fact that differences enrich us and that the greatest threat to Yugoslavia's existence are all attempts at forcibly imposing uniformity in the name of predominance of any ideology or nationality.

We, the undersigned citizens express our firm resolve and unyielding will:

to struggle against all and any attempts at forcing upon us the logic of extraordinary situation and of the state of emergency which makes peace and life together impossible and can lead to civil war;
and to advocate respect for legal institutions and lawfullness in all spheres of social, political, and cultural life in all parts of the SFRY.

The legal institutions and existing laws can only be changed through democratic means and with complete consent all people concerned. We will not allow those responsible for the present situation to present themselves as saviors.

Above all, we resolutely demand that the necessary conditions be immediately fulfilled to prevent the deaths of miners.

Signed: SAWP Republican Conference; Slovene Trade Union Federation; League of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia; LC of Slovenia; Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National LIberation War of Slovenia; Slovene Peasant Alliance; Slovene Peasant Youth Alliance; Slovene Social Democratic Alliance; Slovene Democratic Alliance; Federation of Societies of Student Cultural Centers; Debate Club 89; Justice and Peace Commission; Slovene Group of the Helsinki Federation; Croatian Group of the Helsinki Federation; Slovene Student Union; Gruppo 88; Slovene Writers Association; Slovene PEN Center; Inter-Bishopric Committee for Students; Committee for the Protection of Human Rights; SAWP Republican Conference Council for the Protection of Human Rights; Section for the Culture of Peace and Working Group for Peace Movement; and Initiative Group for International Amnesty.

The organizers of the meeting will make this following statement available in the Ivan Cankar Cultural Hall beginning at 1300 hours to enable anyone who wishes to sign it. They are also counting on schools, work organizations, and other communities to organize themselves in the collection of signatures to this statement and report by telephone the number of signatures to SAWP Republican Conference, telephone 312-381

BORBA Reports Slovene Protest Statement

AU0103150089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Kosovo Has Opened Our Eyes"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Feb—"The events in Kosovo in recent days have fully opened the eyes of anyone who still may have doubts about the results of the policy of interethnic tensions, forcible imposition of uniformity, and search for enemies. This policy leads to tragic and suicidal forms of protest, which they themselves provide the best evidence that communication has become impossible, and finally a state of emergency."

This is the opening sentence of the statement issued by some 20 Slovene sociopolitical organizations, alliances and associations, which were the organizers of tonight's meeting named "Against the Introduction of State of Emergency, for Peace and Togetherness in Kosovo." Among the signatories of the statement are the republican SAWP, the Trade Union Organization, the League of Socialist Youth, the LC, and the Veterans Organization.

Prior to the meeting, all those who wanted to sign the statement were able to do it in the Cankar Hall as of 1300 [1200 GMT]. According to the statement, adding one's signature expresses full human solidarity with the striking miners in Kosovo and resoluteness in preventing human loss, which could lead to a tragedy of unforeseeable dimensions. It also expresses, the statement adds, the sharpest disagreement with the policy which "inevitably resulted in an extreme deterioration and exacerbation of conditions in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and our entire state, and especially with the irresponsible, politically unwise, and humanly insensitive actions of the highest political and state organs of the SFRY, the SR of Serbia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo."

The statement expresses a firm belief that solving the Kosovo and Yugoslav crisis is only possible by recognizing the political, economic, and cultural autonomy and equality of all peoples and nationalities who live in the SFRY, by ensuring and respecting the basic human, civil, and national rights and freedoms in all parts of the country. A way out of the crisis should also be found through asserting the spirit of tolerance and awareness that differences enrich us, and that the attempts to forcibly impose uniformity in the name of predominance of any ideology or nationality represent the greatest danger for Yugoslavia.

The signatories of the statement, as stressed, will fight "against all and any attempts at forcing upon us the logic of an extraordinary situation and the state of emergency which makes peace and life together impossible and can lead to civil war. Legal institutions and the existing laws," according to the statement, "can only be changed through democratic means and with complete consent of all people concerned. We will not allow those responsible for the present situation to present themselves as saviors," the statement says at the end expressing a resolute demand that everything possible be done as soon as possible to prevent the death of the miners.

Ljubljana Corps Command on Jansa Remarks

LD2802203689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—The Ljubljana corps command and members of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) are embittered and concerned over the false statement Janez Jansa made during a discussion on Kosovo at yesterday's session of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium. It is a matter of malicious and false imputation which the information media, especially Ljubljana Radio, used to a great extent for the sake of "more comprehensive" information for cizitens.

This was stated in today's announcement by the Ljubljana corps command in connection with Jansa's claim that "Kosovo exists in Slovenia, too."

Quoting Janez Jansa's statement that "A few meters from here there is an Army prison on Metelkova (?Street)—here in the center of Ljubljana—which is probably still full of Albanian soldiers," the Ljubljana corps command stresses that so far this year there has not been a single Albanian soldier in the Army investigative prison. Last year there were seven, largely for crimes against property.

Members of the Army collectives and Communists in the YPA, the announcement says, are surprised at the fact that individuals and groups can, in any way they wish, seduce the public and manipulate public opinion undisturbed. The announcement also expresses the conviction that such tendentious and false activity of individuals via the media in the long term could have unforseeable consequences for the common life of all the citizens, nations, and nationalities of Yugoslavia.